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The Shape of Things

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THE SUPREME COURT'S REBUFF TO HAGUE'S one-man dictatorship in Jersey City is unquestionably the most significant civil-liberties decision in recent years. It lays down for the first time a complete interpretation of the Bill of Rights applicable to twentieth-century conditions. The restrictions which the Hague-controlled Jersey City Council and police force imposed on labor were those which many other company towns and anti-union municipalities have adopted in an effort to prevent the growth of honest unionism. All of these practices have been held to be unconstitutional. Interference with public meetings, with freedom of speech, or with the distribution of printed matter under the guise of controlling traffic or maintaining public order is definitely ruled to be illegal. Nor have the police the right of expelling or confining "undesirable" persons without arrest. Since Hague's activities have now been formally outlawed by the highest court in the land, we trust that federal and state authorities will see to it that fundamental constitutional rights are enforced in fact as well as in theory in Jersey City.

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NOW THAT THE TOWNSEND PLAN HAS BEEN rejected by a three-to-one vote, Congress is expected to take up the Administration's program for liberalizing the Social Security Act. Full details of the plan as it emerges from committee have not yet been made public, but a number of very necessary amendments are known to be included. Provision is made for beginning the payment of old-age benefits on January 1, 1940, instead of on January 1, 1942, and the benefits are to be much more liberal than those scheduled in the original act. Payment is to be on the basis of average wage rather than accumulated contributions. Liberal allowances are to be added for elderly wives as well as for widows and orphans. These increased payments, together with the postponement of the scheduled rise in the pay-roll tax, will all but eliminate the problem of unwieldy reserves. No provision is to be made, however—unless it is inserted on the floor of the House—for the millions of domestic servants, farm laborers, and white-collar work-

ers who are at present excluded from the protection of the act. In striking contrast to the relatively liberal proposals for amendment of the Social Security Act, a House appropriations subcommittee has drafted an ominous plan for scuttling the WPA which reactionaries hope to force through in the remaining weeks of Congress. The plan calls for the abolition of prevailing wages on WPA projects in favor of a "security wage" well below present standards. An effort will be made to eliminate the highly useful arts projects altogether and to curtail other white-collar relief operations. No surer formula for plunging the country back into depression has been devised.

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IN ANNOUNCING A CUT IN ROUND-TRIP fares the Eastern railroads have reluctantly bowed to inexorable economic law. For years it has been apparent that the railways could not stand up against the competition of busses and private automobiles unless they put their rates on a comparable basis. In the depth of the depression Western and Southern roads successfully combated declining passenger traffic by drastic cuts in fares. But the large Eastern roads maintained the rate of 3.6 cents a mile until 1936, when the Interstate Commerce Commission forced them to accept a flat 2-cent rate in the coaches. The response of the public was beyond expectations. Railways which had been losing money for years on passenger traffic once more found themselves in the black. But the stuffed shirts at the head of the great Eastern systems argued that if money could be earned at 2 cents a mile, still greater profits could be made at 2½ cents. After forcing reluctant approval of the increase from the ICC, they were faced with an immediate sharp drop in revenues which, with general business conditions improving, could not be argued away. Even with the new round-trip cuts, Eastern passenger fares will be high as compared with those in other sections where traffic is not so heavy. But it is encouraging to see the dawn of intelligence in high places.

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REPUBLICAN HISTORIANS WILL REPORT THAT the "dictatorship" of the C. I. O. in Pennsylvania ended on May 29, 1939. On that day the Republican-controlled legislature converted the state's "little Wagner Act" into an anti-labor criminal code; after which it skilfully extracted the teeth of the anti-injunction act. The new measures are expressed in language which every reactionary employer will treasure. Workers are forbidden to "coerce" other workers into unions; they are forbidden to "intimidate" employers into granting demands; they may be restrained from striking if a majority are not participating in the strike; they may not "coerce" an employer into compelling an employee to join a union—that's just what the act says. In addition, the legislature virtually eliminated the check-off and decreed that craft

unions can choose their own bargaining agents even if a contract for the industry already exists. As a reward for these gestures, Pennsylvania hopes that industry will stop running away and that errant plants will come home; all anti-labor practices are forgiven. But Pennsylvania is not unique. Anti-labor bills have been introduced into twenty-two state legislatures this year. While many are still pending, in Wisconsin curbs on strikes and picketing have already been enacted. Minnesota's new law is less drastic, but the drift is clear. In South Dakota a bill to ban all picketing has fortunately been killed. Following the line of the national offensive against the Wagner Act, proponents of these state bill have proclaimed them attempts to "equalize one-sided labor laws." In reality, of course, the Wagner Act was designed to diminish the inequality of labor before the law. But legislative memories go back only to last November's elections.

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IN SPITE OF SECRETARY HULL'S LAST-MINUTE suggestions, it seems possible that no action will be taken this summer to amend the Neutrality Act. A considered bill and a real debate would mean prolonging the session through midsummer, and very few of our lawmakers like that prospect. For both personal and political reasons they want to go home. The changes suggested by Secretary Hull were obviously designed as a least common denominator: they offer as many safeguards against military involvement as possible while providing a necessary measure of flexibility. We must state our disagreement with Mr. Villard's position on this point. We too find the Hull proposals unsatisfactory, but rather because they are weak than because they are dangerous. In default of such adequate provisions as are embodied in the Thomas amendment, we hope the Hull compromise will be adopted.

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OUR NEW AMBASSADOR TO FASCIST SPAIN has found no trouble in living down his democratic connections. The post is a difficult one, and no doubt a polite curtsy was inevitable. But Mr. Weddell, in his first newspaper interview in Spain, greeted "the realities of this historic moment" and the victorious conclusion of General Franco's "Spanish crusade." Simultaneously it is reported that 688 anti-fascists have been executed since Madrid fell, and that 380 are being tried daily. The recognition of Franco's government may have been inevitable, and polite diplomatic relations are a necessity, but ostentatious approval of a ruthlessly imposed tyranny is neither according to "protocol" nor to democratic tradition. By way of contrast the appointment of Claude Bowers, our former ambassador to Spain, as ambassador to Chile is a pleasure to record. This is one of the most important diplomatic posts in South America, and no one could fill it better.

A SHIP BEARING 940 JEWISH REFUGEES SAILED into the harbor of Havana on May 27. Eighteen were admitted to Cuba; the rest were denied refuge because of a recent decree of the President. One of these hundreds without a country succeeded in committing suicide; another tried. For several days this ship, the *St. Louis*, steamed about, waiting to learn the fate of its tragic cargo. A conditional decision to allow the refugees to land temporarily was announced on June 6 by President Bru, and as we go to press, the *St. Louis* is heading back toward Cuba to deposit its passengers in a concentration camp on the Isle of Pines. In Vera Cruz a German exile aboard a ship in the harbor killed himself, using his skill as a chemist to concoct a poison. Meanwhile, in others of the seven seas other refugee ships are being turned away from the harbors of a so-called civilized world: the *Orinoco* with 200 exiles bound for Cuba turned back and dumped them at Cuxhaven; the cattle boat *Liesel* with 906 on board has been stopped off the coast of Palestine. There wandering ships, and particularly the two episodes in the harbors of the New World, should make every American capable of pity think twice before he raises his voice against the admission of Europe's exiles, for he is literally passing judgment in a matter of life and death.

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THE NAZIS CAPTURED FIFTY-THREE SEATS IN the recent Hungarian elections; they had formerly held only six. But even this sensational increase does not accurately reflect the extent of German penetration in Hungary. At least one-third of the 180 deputies elected on the government ticket are also Nazis or near-Nazis—the German Bund leader of Hungary was a successful government-party candidate. The election was far from being free. Campaigning was practically forbidden. Moreover, the liberal electorate, such as it was, was drastically reduced, since Jews who could not prove that their families had resided in Hungary since 1867 were not allowed to vote. The ballot was secret, but great sections of the electorate, unconditioned to such a novelty or not trusting it, went on voting for the government as they have always been forced to do. The government slogan was nationalistic: "We want no protectorate"; the Nazis agitated, within limits, for land reform, the essential economic problem of a country in which 1,066 big proprietors still own 30 per cent of all cultivated lands. It looked like a real fight, but one must doubt the honesty of both slogans. The ruling feudal class will accept a more or less disguised protectorate if they are assured that their estates will remain intact. As for the Hungarian Nazis, Hitler may have ordered them to raise the land-reform issue in order to intimidate the nobility, but the Hungarian peasants, if the Nazis triumph, will soon find themselves working longer and harder for still less—for the benefit of Germany's war chest.

GOVERNOR LEHMAN HAS TRIED AT LENGTH to prove that the Devany "anti-ism" bill he signed this year bears no resemblance to the McNaboe bill he so eloquently vetoed in 1938. But the deadly parallels far overshadow the points of difference. It is true that the new bill emphasizes the possibility of judicial review when a state employee is dismissed for "advocating overthrow of the government by force." But the employee will be dismissed first and receive his day in court later; and the courts are likely to intervene only in the most clear-cut instances. The threat of dismissal will be used to nourish servility among teachers and other public servants. Enactment of the bill has encouraged the bigoted groups already so active in the state. Governor Lehman was right the first time.

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EDUCATION IN AMERICA'S LARGEST CITY received a severe blow this past week when it was announced that about 1,000 regularly employed teachers will be dismissed as a result of retrenchment on the part of the Republican-controlled legislature and the city Board of Estimate. The cuts hit what are probably the most vital parts of New York's educational program. All kindergartens are to be closed down and the entire staff demobilized. Evening schools, community centers, and Americanization classes are also to be eliminated. Vocational training is to be curtailed. Retrenchment has been directed, ironically enough, at those very phases of New York's educational activities which were found to be dangerously inadequate in the recent report of the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, part of which has just been released. This report stressed the need of better training for citizenship. Surely that need has been demonstrated by the present false economies.

Molotov's Terms

BY REJECTING the British proposal for a three-power defensive alliance in the form submitted, Premier Molotov dealt a heavy blow to Chamberlain's hopes of making the Soviet Union carry the chief responsibility for stopping Hitler but otherwise left the European situation much as it has been for the past six weeks. It is still obviously to the interest of both Britain and Russia to enter into a mutual-assistance pact as soon as possible. But since the brunt of any defense of Poland or Rumania would necessarily be borne by the Soviet Union, Molotov can scarcely be blamed for insisting that the joint guaranties be extended to include the Baltic states. The Nazi tactic has always been to strike at the weakest point, and at the moment the Baltic states are clearly the weakest links among the countries surrounding Germany. They would be no more able than was

Austria to resist German occupation; yet once Latvia and Estonia—with their substantial German population—were in Nazi hands, Chamberlain would have every inducement to reverse his policy again and encourage a German attack directly on the Soviet Union. The emphasis with which Moscow has opposed the projected fortification of the Aland Islands suggests that it also fears a German invasion through Finland.

Premier Molotov was explicit in stating the terms on which the Soviet Union would enter into a binding defensive alliance with the Western powers. These terms should not be difficult to meet if Chamberlain and Daladier are sincere in desiring to check Nazi aggression. The fact that none of the Baltic states have asked for guaranties might be useful as a pretext for a delay in meeting Molotov's terms, but it will be recalled that guaranties were extended to Rumania and Greece without their being requested. But reluctant as Chamberlain may be to meet the Soviets halfway, he can scarcely turn back now. The pledges made to Poland and Rumania are not only futile but highly dangerous without Soviet aid. Hitler is so definitely committed to a program of expansion that he can be counted on to make a new move the moment he thinks Germany has a chance of success. He might well feel confident of victory against Poland, France, and Great Britain. But if Russia were tied into the anti-Nazi defensive alliance, war would be unlikely. Hitler has never shown a disposition to take risks against superior odds.

The assumption that Britain and Russia will sooner or later find an acceptable formula for a mutual-assistance pact is probably more responsible than anything else for the recent lessening of European tension. Hitler's latest speech, although it contained a truculent warning against "encirclement," was moderate in view of the occasion on which it was delivered. Working under favorable conditions, Karl J. Burckhardt, League Commissioner for Danzig, has made progress in his conversations with Arthur Greiser, president of the Danzig senate, Marian Chodacki, Polish commissioner, and Albert Foerster, Nazi leader of Danzig, toward reducing the prospect of clashes in that city. Nazi leaders now say that there is no issue at Danzig pressing for immediate attention. Large numbers of the German inhabitants of the Polish Corridor have been influenced by recent developments to declare their unconditional allegiance to Poland.

Whether this period of relative quiet will be broken by a new crisis in August or September depends on many factors, including the developments in American foreign policy and the outcome of the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. But there is at least one sound reason for hoping that the crises of last September and March will not be repeated. The world now knows that Hitler can be stopped without war. And it knows the formula for achieving this. It has seen a convincing demonstration

of the power of collective security, even when imperfectly applied. If it retains that lesson, the anxieties of the past year will not have been wholly in vain.

Alex Gumberg

ALEX GUMBERG, who died last week, was a unique personality. His life touched the lives of men and women who stood for different and often hostile points of view, who moved on widely separated social levels, of whom it might almost be said that their sole common denominator lay in Alex Gumberg's esteem. He managed somehow to bridge all existing cleavages and to do so, not by compromising or concealing his own views, but by shifting human values to a dimension of his own in which ordinary social and intellectual differences played no role. At his home bankers and labor leaders, Republicans and New Dealers fraternized in an atmosphere of humorous and humane tolerance. With a pleasure that seemed almost mischievous Alex Gumberg encouraged open showdowns between honest adversaries; he hated the evasion and surface politeness that comprise the ordinary social intercourse of such diverse groups as were drawn into his circle. He had one of the most sophisticated minds and one of the least calculating hearts that could be imagined. With a sharp understanding of the realities of public business, he combined an almost childlike faith in the men and women to whom he gave his friendship. He tolerated no doubts of the motives of such persons, and he gave a generous share of his energy and wisdom to the support of their fortunes and hopes.

His public interests ranged so widely that it is hard to point to one special focus of influence. But it should be said here, because the newspapers have made little mention of the fact, that Russia has had no friend in the United States so wise and tireless as Alex Gumberg. Apart from innumerable concrete services, he did more than any other American to prepare the way for the recognition of the Soviet government. And from the time, just after the revolution, when he helped distribute American food to starving Russians until the day he died, he kept his faith that the country of his birth would survive its years of suffering and conflict and play a heroic role in the life of nations. He believed, in particular, that a successful resistance to the present threat of fascist conquest would depend in large measure on Russian leadership and collaboration.

Alex Gumberg's death will be felt in Moscow as well as in Washington and New York. He will be deeply and particularly missed by *The Nation*, whose editors have been happy to count themselves among his friends and for many years have depended upon his shrewd and astringent advice and his knowledge of men and affairs.

Royalty Is Not Enough

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

WE AMERICANS love visiting royalty. Our republican institutions offer little scope for the more glamorous forms of national exhibitionism, and we can make an expensive fuss over other countries' monarchs without incurring the obligations and penalties of supporting a royal house. We shall, no doubt, celebrate the brief visit of the British King and Queen to their lost colonies with a fervor equal to that of their most loyal subjects. Washington dignitaries will bow from the waist, if they get the chance, and Jack Garner will put on a white tie, the populace will cheer, and the press will overflow with editorials of welcome. And then it will be all over, and our guests will be gone with the tide.

But what will the royal couple make of their welcome? If they are not instructed in advance, they may easily misinterpret our hospitality. Do they know our capacity for mobbing movie stars and transatlantic fliers; our virtuosity with ticker tape and shredded telephone books? I hope they do. Otherwise they may be deceived in us as we are not deceived in them.

Because Americans, for all their whoop-la, are skeptics at heart. We know that the first visit in history by a British monarch to the North American continent has a purpose. And, in the United States at least, its success is not to be measured either by the volume of welcoming shouts or by the pomp and circumstance of the official entertainment. The King and Queen are in North America to sell the British cause in the probable coming war to a dubious or suspicious public. Great Britain needs Canadian loyalty. Even more, it needs the sympathy and guns of the United States. A showdown is in progress in which the existence of the British Empire is at stake. The royal couple may kiss quintuplets and shake hands with Indian chieftains, they may change their costumes three times a day and make dull little royal speeches, they may eat hot dogs with Mrs. Roosevelt and drink tea with Lady Lindsay, but the whole performance, like a business man's golf game, is part of the deal. When they go home, will they have North America in the bag? If so, the empire will be to a considerable degree the safer. If not—?

It was not a fair assignment. In the United States, particularly, the cards are stacked against our gracious and hard-working guests. American opinion is, to be sure, often swayed by emotion, and emotion is aroused in the democratic breast by the glamor of royalty. But just now we are in a mood to look gift sovereigns in the mouth. For behind the royal visitors we see the men who sent them on their errand—Chamberlain and his ministers. And behind the British government lies

Munich. Ahead—but we can't see ahead. We only know, we Americans, that democracy in Europe has been tossed to Hitler and Mussolini by the major democratic nations. Even now, with French and British arms multiplying and a "peace front" simultaneously under construction, even now we doubt. Can the same men who surrendered Czechoslovakia and Spain—deliberately and intentionally, not by default—can they build a dependable front against further fascist raids? Only, we are sure, if they fear for their own borders and empire more than they fear for their continued existence as rulers and owners.

What the American people need is appeasement. If we are as important as we believe we are, we should be in line for something more substantial than the fleeting appearance of a King and Queen. What we want the British government seems ready enough to give to dictators upon demand. We want solid concessions. The first and most effective would be the resignation of Neville Chamberlain. The second would be a collective-security pact to include Russia and every other nation in Europe willing to give the necessary guaranties. The third would be an offer to consider all legitimate claims, territorial and economic, in exchange for general, complete demobilization, an end to the arms race, and gradual disarmament to proceed under international supervision. But we might settle for less. We might settle for the retirement of Chamberlain and his gang.

America likes England. We should feel nothing but horror if the British way of life, linked so inextricably with our own, were to be rubbed out under the mechanized ruthlessness of fascism. We doubt whether free institutions could long survive in our own hemisphere if they should be obliterated in Europe. Given half a chance we would offer both moral and material support to the opponents of Europe's tyrants. Our doubts and suspicions are reserved for Chamberlain, Simon, Hoare, and their backers. Their continuance in office does more to inhibit our impulse to help the "peace front" than the efforts of twenty isolationist Senators. We don't believe that they give a lead nickel for democracy. We know from experience that they would sell out any other country for a liar's promise of immunity for themselves. If, in the end, they are forced to fight, it will be because they refused to stand firm when a united front would have made a fight unnecessary. The groups in this country that most earnestly supported the idea of collective action have been put on the defensive by the Chamberlain government; only the unrelenting horror of fascism keeps them in the ring at all.

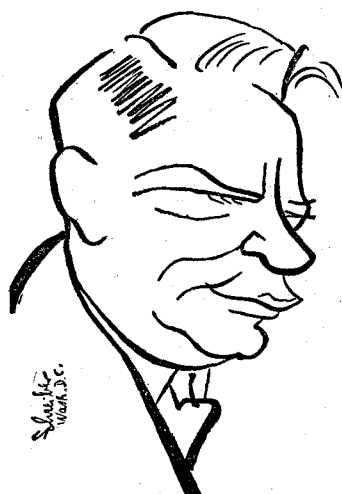
What England needs in America is a renewal of trust in the honor and decent intentions of the British government. The King and Queen cannot bring us that. We will cheer them and entertain them, but in our hearts we feel sorry for the poor souls. They were given an impossible assignment.

Moseley Loses His Horse

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, June 5

TO Major General George Van Horn Moseley, U. S. A., retired, "the handwriting on the wall is as clear as a bell." The Jews are a sort of schizophrenic cult—international bankers and overlords of the capitalistic system on Tuesdays, and Communist revolutionaries bent on blowing up the system on Fridays.



Representative Dies

What to do with them is as clear as the handwriting: they must be spied upon by the Army Intelligence Section (G-2), hauled before military courts set up in all the forty-eight states to supersede the existing local authorities, and finally driven into the Atlantic and the Pacific. Meanwhile, it is also clear that the Jews are trying to "bump off" Moseley and that danger lurks even in the water he drinks. Well-poisoners are everywhere, and the water-

works in all large cities, particularly Boston, must be placed under guard by vigilantes. Fritz Kuhn and his Bund are the real American patriots, supplying the necessary antidote on the right for the disease of communism on the left. "God Almighty, gentlemen! This is an emergency."

To members of the Dies committee, after listening for two days to excerpts from the General's letters and then to his conflicting testimony, it was all as clear as the mud in the wall. Accustomed as they are to fantasy, this was too fantastic for them. They gave it up at the point where Rhea Whitley, the committee's former G-man counsel, disclosed that Moseley's associates planned to finance their counter-revolutionary campaign by sale of a patent medicine for syphilis to the United States army. Moseley, who draws \$6,000 a year retirement pay but is "flat broke," was promised money for the "cause" if he could persuade the medical corps to put the stuff up in prophylaxis kits for the protection of the boys in khaki. In the role of medicine man he had prevailed upon army doctors, he said, to give his combined preventive and cure a trial.

On that note Moseley stepped happily out of the witness chair, apparently confident that he had made

his case against communism and world Jewry (even though his prepared statement was struck from the record), established his freedom from religious prejudice by assuring the committee that some of his best friends were Jews, and demonstrated his humanity in a closing oration against the blight of syphilis. He also, it can be assumed, stepped out of the picture as the man on horseback.

They once laughed at Hitler, to be sure, but no nation with a strong feeling for the ludicrous ever followed a Moseley.

What remained important at the close of the committee's superficial and clumsy but nevertheless valuable investigation of the Moseley gang was not Moseley himself or the band of "patriots" immediately surrounding him but the shadowy figures on the periphery of their movement. Did General Malin Craig, chief of staff, and others of the army's high command actually give serious consideration to Moseley's charges? Was Father Coughlin, the whirling dervish from Detroit, ready to lend his considerable following and his money-raising talents to the projected anti-Semitic confederation? Had the Republican Party, in its eagerness to unite all dissident groups, however crackpot, flirted with the Moseley boys?

Obviously Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert, New York angel of the Moseleyites, George Deatherage, frankly fascist pooh-bah of the Knights of the White Camellia, James Campbell, army-reserve officer and coordinator of the Jew haters, and even Felix McWhirter, Indianapolis banker and official of the Indiana Republican Committee, did not in themselves constitute a serious menace to democracy or anything else. Brains and money beyond their very limited capacities are needed to build a formidable organization.

The committee, as usual, failed to answer the more important questions, but some of the answers are now known. I can say with certainty that General Craig and other responsible army leaders take Moseley seriously only as a menace to the prestige of the service. His letters to Craig warning of a "revolutionary emergency" drew coldly cryptic acknowledgment and nothing more. Even before Moseley's appearance at the Capitol, an emissary in the service was sent to him to suggest that he hold his irresponsible tongue in the interest of preserving the dignity of the army. When this failed, the War Department considered disciplinary measures but was dissuaded from acting by President Roosevelt him-

self. The attitude of the army toward the whole affair has been reassuring.

As for the Republicans, their record is less clear. A member of the headquarters staff made an appointment for John D. M. Hamilton to talk with Campbell though he knew that the subject was to be "subversive activities," which should have been a tip-off. However, in view of Hamilton's campaign against Gerald Winrod, there is no reason to doubt his denial of intention to give aid and comfort to the anti-Semites. As much cannot be said for McWhirter, who seems to have been hand in glove with Campbell, of Representative J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey Republican, the only member of the Dies committee who tried to make things easy for Moseley, or of Representative Jacob Thorkelson, Montana Republican, who sat unashamed at Moseley's right hand and prompted him as he testified. The Republican leadership cannot, of course, be held responsible for the acts of all party members, but Campbell's

announced purpose of working within the Republican Party and the ease with which he made a start in that direction through McWhirter are disturbing.

That leaves Coughlin. Through Patrick Scanlon, editor of the *Brooklyn Tablet*, Coughlin communicated on several occasions with Gilbert, original source of the "plot" reports. In the inter-Moseley-clique communications he was said to have promised to make use of some of the scurrilous material. Several of the Moseleyites exchanged literature with the priest. Campbell boasted of having seen the "evidence" on which one of Coughlin's speeches was based. Arrangements were once made for Coughlin and Moseley to speak from the same platform in New York, but for some unexplained reason they fell through. If Coughlin were to assume leadership of the shirtwaist boys, the result might be nothing to laugh off. As Lee Miller, Scripps-Howard editorial writer, has observed, the situation would have all the earmarks of an eyesore.

The House of Morgan

BY RANDOLPH PHILLIPS

I
J. P. MORGAN AND COMPANY has lost its brilliant plumage. No longer does it finance the governments of Europe, and no longer is it the dominant financial agency in the United States. The stocks of its holding companies and its railroad, foreign, and other publicly listed bonds have depreciated \$850,000,000 below original value. Capital withdrawals and losses on loans and on securities have thinned by \$65,000,000 its boom-time "net worth." Its golden record of lending on "character" has been tarnished by Charles E. Mitchell, the bankrupted Van Sweringens, and the jailed Richard Whitney. Its papal standing, its privacy, and its freedom from legislative challenge have been disturbed by the Great Deflation, the rout of the Republican Party, and the ensuing flurry of New Deal subpoena, lecture, and law. No longer is its application to the New York Stock Exchange approved "in extraordinary haste."* No longer does "a very close friend" move the Federal Reserve System. The House of Morgan, in brief, is suffering from the rebound of its World War and post-war policies.

Notwithstanding these woes, the bank remains a strong and solvent institution. Together its partners own \$44,000,000 of banking and unrecorded millions of other assets. They continue to serve an enviable list of the

nation's wealthiest corporations, even though their oldest clients, the railroads, are impoverished. The emphatic success of their Congressionally separated bond department, now called Morgan, Stanley and Company, should not be overlooked. But it cannot today be said, as John Moody wrote in 1911, that "directly or indirectly the House of Morgan and its close associates practically control the financial destinies of America."

Until 1932 J. P. Morgan and Company was probably the most influential of all the private institutions shaping the economy of the United States. It led and the other banks followed more often than it followed where the others led. The present article attempts to assay the relationship of Morgan alone to the crucial events of our time. It does not accept the easy assumption that Morgan's position today is explained by the general "decline" of Wall Street. Nor, on the other hand, does it argue that Morgan has been a great Mephistophelian force secretly compelling the flow of events, despite those modern demonologists who exaggerate the bank's power as much as its most discreet partner minimizes it. So stupendous is the wreckage left by the collapse of the Wilson-Hoover era that the attack and the disclaimer are equally understandable. But only simple minds dramatize the Morgan partners as cold, callous conspirators against the common people. Such they are not. They are engaging, sensitive men of the world, led on perhaps by their pride and ego to believe they are serving

* Unless the source is otherwise specified, the quotations in this article have been taken from published sources, such as the records of federal investigations and contemporary historical volumes.

the national interest best when they are serving themselves best.

Four generations made the Morgan fortune.

The founder was Joseph Morgan, a hotel-keeper who became a fire-insurance executive, invested in real estate, and died in 1847 leaving \$102,330. His son, Junius Spencer Morgan, wholesaled drygoods in Boston, went to London, and by 1863 had converted the bank of George Peabody, a Yankee by origin, into J. S. Morgan and Company. Junius died in 1890 leaving \$10,000,000. Thirty years earlier he had established his son, John Pierpont I, then twenty-one years old, as an independent banker in New York.

Out of panic, war, and stockjobbing Pierpont fashioned his successes. Fiercely loyal to the ruling class, he had an arrogance and sagacity which triumphed where deference would have been weakness and caution the mark of the inferior. His were the royal manners, his partners' the organizing brains. His international money power was his unique heritage, and his unbounded faith in American capitalism his indelible stamp on the era.

John Pierpont Morgan I died in Rome, at the age of seventy-six, on March 30, 1913. Scarcely had the burial rites ended when \$180,000,000 of New Haven Railroad stock collapsed. The loss of the senior partner, the New Haven débâcle, and the depression of 1913-14 affected the bank's capital as well as its prestige. At the time of his death the 51 per cent interest of Pierpont Morgan I in his New York and Philadelphia banking houses was valued at \$29,900,000. Twenty-one months later, on December 31, 1914, the interest of all eleven partners, including J. P. Morgan II, was valued, according to recently disclosed evidence, at only \$30,600,000. The indicated drop of \$28,000,000 was almost 50 per cent.

J. P. Morgan II was already forty-six when he inherited \$53,600,000 of his father's \$69,499,000 fortune, including command of J. P. Morgan and Company and its Philadelphia, Paris, and London branches, today known as Drexel and Company, Morgan et Cie, and Morgan, Grenfell and Company. But "Jack" Morgan has not a general's temperament; Henry P. Davison, a Morgan partner since 1909, became known as "the fighting edge" of the house. It was Davison who capitalized the opportunities offered by the outbreak of the World War, thereby reversing the bank's decline.

In the fall of 1914 the Allies began to buy food, raw materials, and munitions in the American market and "to compete against one another on a grand scale." From New York Davison cabled the London office that there was "a great deal of business going on all around us, much of which should be going through us." He proposed coordination of these purchases through the House of Morgan; his partners agreed that the plan "would

serve an excellent purpose and be profitable to us," but Mr. Morgan felt that he personally "could not be put in the position of drumming"; so Davison himself jumped on a boat to England, where, aided by British bankers, he successfully "drummed" the plan to Lloyd George.

By obtaining the Allied purchasing agency J. P. Morgan and Company became the disbursing agent in the United States of more than three billion dollars; by heading the banking and underwriting syndicates it controlled offerings of almost two billion dollars in Allied bonds and short-term debts; and finally in acting as the Allies' broker it sold in the markets here about one billion dollars of foreign-owned American securities. These tremendous operations massed in the House of Morgan a money power without parallel in world history.

Recent investigation makes clear one motive of these operations. To aid the Allied finances in September, 1916, Davison suggested that Morgan arrange "as confidentially as possible with important distributing houses, each to start a campaign of education throughout the country." In November J. P. Morgan personally cabled from London to Davison in New York that the British Chancellor was "greatly impressed with skill and usefulness of your propaganda." Meanwhile Davison told the Federal Reserve Board that "if we did not place these [new Morgan] loans we were taking the responsibility of cutting down the trade of the country, a very serious responsibility as we were now in a fair way of becoming masters of the world." William P. G. Harding, governor of the Reserve Board, told Davison that "there was some danger of a creditor becoming so much involved with one debtor that finally, no matter whether the creditor wanted to or not, he would have to go in deeper and deeper."

Governor Harding also wrote to Benjamin Strong, the head of the New York Reserve Bank, that "the carnival of death and destruction has gone far enough. It ought to be stopped. . . . The United States has it in its power to shorten or prolong the war by the attitude it assumes as banker." The Federal Reserve Board temporarily refused to sanction the financing, and Morgan was forced to mark time in its efforts to make us "masters of the world."

On December 31, 1914, two weeks before the Morgan house was made the British purchasing agent, the net worth of the partners' interest in their bank was \$30,592,000. At the end of 1917 the net worth was \$68,745,000, indicating a net profit to the twelve partners of \$38,153,000. No longer was the House of Morgan in decline. The trend from the death of Pierpont Morgan I to the end of 1914 had been reversed. The subsequent two years had also converted the United States into a European arsenal and had loaded billions of dollars in American chips on the Allied side of the roulette wheel. For the first result the House of Morgan

is not entitled to exclusive credit, but its role and responsibility as croupier are undisputed.

The Armistice found J. P. Morgan and Company the dominant private bank in the Americas and Europe, displacing the Rothschild family, whose Austrian branch was "almost ruined." With its New York, Paris, and London houses now commanding the money markets of the Western world, and with Partner Thomas W. Lamont in official attendance at Versailles, Morgan was in a unique position to influence the peace treaties and the reconstruction effort. To his credit Mr. Lamont opposed the extremists who wished to make of reparations a weapon for permanent vengeance. But he himself has written that "all factions agreed" that Germany "must pay" whatever sum she could pay "at her utmost capacity." Mr. Lamont also opposed General Smuts's justification of the inclusion of war-pension costs in the bill to be paid, but since the bill was to tax Germany's "utmost capacity" the allocation of reparations rather than their total was affected by this inclusion. Smuts, who signed the treaty for South Africa, was heartsick at the "rotten thing, of which we shall all be heartily ashamed in due course." In 1919 Smuts warned, "The treaty breathes a poisonous spirit of revenge which may yet scorch the fair face, not of a corner of Europe, but of Europe." The same year Mr. Lamont returned to the United States and with Mr. Morgan urged ratification. "... the treaty that was evolved imposes justly severe terms upon Germany," said Mr. Lamont. "Those terms should be put into effect at once." In 1921 he wrote, "And do not let us forget that it is the German people—not their rulers alone—who were responsible for the war."

"The thing to do is make such adjustments in reparations as will give the Germans hope," said J. P. Morgan privately in 1923. "If you say, pay me one-half of what you earn and you can have the other half, you leave hope." This was the spirit of the Dawes and Young plans, which Morgan financed in America by syndicating \$208,000,000 of bonds at a net profit to itself of \$1,500,000. The German Republic received only \$865 cash for each \$1,000 of its bonded debt, but was obligated to pay 5½ to 7 per cent annually on the par amount. Thus was begun the process of lending American money to enable Germany to pay reparations to the Allies, who reshipped part of the funds back here to pay off their war debts, a process most profitable to the bond sellers but extremely costly to the buyers.

"Mussolini is a very great man," said J. P. Morgan also in 1923, and thereafter Morgan syndicates poured \$156,000,000 of American investors' money into Italy. Morgan syndicates also raised \$284,000,000 for Japan from 1924 to 1931. The bank's net profit on the Italian bonds was \$1,250,000; on the Japanese bonds \$1,700,-

000. Some of these loans were for earthquake repair in Japan and sanitary improvements in Rome, but the other loans, which Morgan may sincerely have believed would help to stabilize Asia and Europe, aided regimes that were dedicated to Italian fascism and Japanese imperialism.

On the domestic front during the 1920's Morgan had marked success. William Durant, the architect of General Motors Corporation, was forced out of that profitable combine, which then fell under du Pont and Morgan control. Also about this time Morgan gathered in the financing of the Van Sweringen brothers, which the Chase National Bank had tried to get. The house subsequently led syndicates offering more than \$500,000,000 in publicly listed Van Sweringen securities. Net profits to Morgan on this financing exceeded \$11,000,000 before the brothers' pyramided promotions collapsed.

Politically the house also had reason to be gratified during the 1920's. Partners Thomas Cochran and Dwight Morrow attended the Republican convention at Chicago which nominated Harding and Coolidge. Morrow, an Amherst classmate of Coolidge, helped finance the latter's political career. At Chicago Morrow's hotel room was "the center of intensive lobbying." On behalf of Coolidge's Presidential candidacy he "expounded, he argued, he cajoled." He did not relish Harding, but wrote to Mr. Lamont, "I feel there is nothing against him and that there is very much in his favor." Mr. Cochran "was always a very close personal friend" of Calvin Coolidge and "was advising him," in the words of George Whitney, "on his investments after he left the White House." The Harding and Coolidge administrations allowed the Federal Reserve Board in Washington to become subsidiary to the Reserve Bank of New York under the dominant personality of Governor Benjamin Strong. Strong was an Englewood neighbor of Morrow, Lamont, and Davison; Davison "chose" him for the Bankers Trust Company (starting as treasurer, Strong became vice-president and then president) and with Morgan "finally urged" him to take the Reserve post.

Strong induced the Federal Reserve System in 1924 to buy \$500,000,000 of government bonds, thereby flooding the member banks with liquid funds that sent the interest rates on money to a lower point than in London and impelled the moving of balances from New York



J. P. Morgan

to London. This flow of money overseas was followed by England's return to the gold standard in the spring of 1925. A group of banks headed by Morgan split a \$2,500,000 "standby commission" paid by the British government for a \$100,000,000 credit in the United States. This credit, established to scare off speculators, was good for two years. It was never drawn upon. (A credit twice as large to the Bank of England was established by the Federal Reserve banks. They charged and received no commission.) Years later the Federal Reserve officials told the Senate in an obscure report that one reason for the 1924 inflation was "to encourage foreign borrowing in the American market." During this one year Morgan led syndicates which sold in this country \$485,000,000 of foreign bonds, by far the largest annual peace-time total of Morgan foreign flotations. Net profits to the House on these bonds exceeded \$2,900,000.

Another inflation was begun by the Reserve system in 1927. Again one of the reasons, later confessed, was "to facilitate flotation of foreign bonds in the American market," although the main reason was "to preserve the gold standard." To persuade Washington, the central banks of England, France, and Germany sent their governors to the United States, where they called upon Strong and the Morgan partners, whose power, profits, and prestige were largely tied in with the integrity of huge loans to overseas borrowers. The central bankers "aimed to bolster a weakening Europe, believing that they could prevent the inevitable liquidation of the war." Open-market operations were resumed by the Federal Reserve in July, 1927; the discount rate was reduced, "first in Kansas City to give the impression that the occasion was domestic and the reason agricultural"; and \$600,000,000 additional funds soon inundated the nation's banks, making possible a credit expansion of six billion. This "manipulation of credit by a half-dozen men in different parts of the world" contributed largely to the ensuing super-inflation.

The speculative fever had dangerously increased when the inflationary operations were terminated, and the Federal Reserve attempted to withdraw credit in 1928. Strong died on October 8, 1928. Before the year was out the Reserve Board members in Washington were uneasy. Attempts to check the inflation were bungled by the Coolidge-Mellon Administration, whose primary objective was a Presidential victory for the Republican Party in November, 1928. The boom propaganda that placed Hoover in office so deluded the speculators that the stock market began to run away despite tardy official warnings.

After carefully refraining from selling common stocks during most of the post-war period, the Morgan partners now proceeded to issue more than \$200,000,000 of such stock and \$150,000,000 in other securities in three huge new holding companies—United Corporation,

Alleghany Corporation, and Standard Brands Company. The application of Alleghany Corporation for listing on the New York Stock Exchange was "considered and passed upon in extraordinary haste" even though it was "almost unprecedented from every point of view." The public was not told that E. H. H. Simmons, then Exchange president, Richard Whitney, then vice-president, and other influential Exchange governors shared in the Morgan stock syndicates.

Meanwhile a conflict raged in the Federal Reserve system over how to bridle the unprecedented speculation in stocks. The Morgan point of view was that the orthodox course of raising the discount rate should be applied. This position was well expressed in an article by Franz Schneider, Jr., in the July, 1929, issue of *Foreign Affairs*. Mr. Schneider was at this time the financial editor of the New York *Evening Sun*. Previously he had been financial editor of the *Evening Post*, when Mr. Lamont had owned it. Earlier in 1929 he had received various stocks from Morgan at a cost of \$27,500 less than their opening market price. He was the only journalist so honored. Extracts from his article follow: "During the past winter one wing of the discount-rate protagonists was positive that rates should be jumped progressively and quickly to 8 per cent or higher, if necessary, in order to bring down the stock market and secure liquidation. The theory was that a sharp quick purge would kill off speculative spirit. . . ." Against this school of thought Schneider argued that "a more natural and reasonable method of managing the discount rates would be to move it up with reference to the demands for Federal Reserve credit" only when and if business, not the stock market, became more and more active. (This generally coincided with the Morgan point of view.) "The evidence is not conclusive" on "whether or not there is a dangerous absorption of credit in speculative loans. . . . Judging from the behavior of the stock market itself, one would conclude that the extent and seriousness of current speculation has been exaggerated by its critics." Now that Strong was dead and Dr. Adolph Miller, another man with a will of his own, was influencing the Federal Reserve Board in Washington, Mr. Schneider urged that the board "abandon its attempt to initiate and direct the policies of the [Reserve] system. . . . One cannot help wondering how far the authorities intend carrying this deflationary policy . . . [which] would restrict further *our granting of foreign credits . . .*" (my italics).

The Morgan partners had a good reason for being against a strong deflationary policy. They were minting new fortunes out of the rampant speculation, their holding-company stocks having exceptional leverage because of their great pyramiding. Six of the nine directors of the New York Reserve Bank participated in the Morgan stock syndicates. Years later, the bank's chairman and governor both stated that the discount rate should have

been raised earlier than February, 1929, when they first recommended an increase, and should have been raised higher than their August, 1929, lift to 6 per cent.

J. P. Morgan and Company, like many banks, placed huge sums in the call-money market where the stock speculators fed. At the end of 1927 Morgan call loans were \$54,000,000; at the end of 1928, \$109,000,000; and at the end of 1929, after the October crash, \$79,000,000. The speculative instincts of less conservative institutions could not be successfully harnessed when Wall Street's leading bank was helping to swell the billions already available in the call market.

Out of Alleghany Corporation alone the partners made almost \$6,000,000. If they had sold their United Corporation holdings at the 1929 peak they would have realized a profit of more than \$122,000,000. Their actual profit is not on the record, but in 1927, 1928, and 1929 the nineteen partners paid, by their own admission, total income taxes of \$22,000,000, indicating that they had made \$44,000,000 to \$60,000,000 net.

Reinforced with these profits, the supremacy of the

House of Morgan appeared unshakably secure. The partners could look back over the ten post-war years from the heights of 1929 and mark the monuments of their policy. First, a total of \$5,000,000,000 in domestic and foreign security financing; second, a new \$580,000,000 utility holding-company system; third, completion of the \$3,000,000,000 Van Sweringen railroad pyramid; and fourth, directorships in corporations owning \$18,000,000,000 of the national wealth.

Banker for the empires, kingdoms, and republics of the Eastern Hemisphere; patron of the Republican Party of the United States; mentor of the Federal Reserve System and the New York Stock Exchange; controller of railroad, utility, steel, and other combines; claimant to a priceless probity, the Morgan partnership bestrode the world like a colossus. Yet in the eight years after 1929 profound and irresistible forces moved against the gentlemen housed in the stone counting-room that weighs down the corner of Wall and Broad streets.

[This is the first of two articles on the House of Morgan. The second will appear next week.]

Stalemate in China

BY JOHN GUNTHER

IN JULY, 1937, the third and greatest Sino-Japanese War began. The Japanese struck when they did for several reasons. First, China was becoming stronger economically. The currency was stabilized, and a new central bank was operating; Dr. Kung was in Europe collecting loans, and Chinese industry was rising to compete with Japanese. Second, Chinese military strength and unity were increasing, after Sian and the United Front. The Japanese knew that it was now or never. Finally, the international situation was propitious, with Russia weak.

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang knew that conflict was inevitable. Once the civil wars were over, once China became united, Japan was bound to strike. But they thought that they had one more year for preparation; they anticipated assault in 1938, not 1937. They thought that Japan—despite the Soviet purges—was still afraid of Russian intervention, and that the Japanese financial position would serve to defer war another year. They were wrong. But they were not caught napping. They fought back—at last.

The most striking thing about the war as a whole is that although Japan fought for one overwhelming purpose, to keep China from becoming strong, the war has united what is left of China into a more cohesive and effective fighting organism than it had been for gen-

erations. The Japanese have carved out much territory; what remains of China is more Chinese than it has ever been before. Japan, by waging war, produced just what it sought to prevent.

INCIDENTS AND CHRONOLOGY

The course of the war may be sketched in a paragraph or two. The precipitating incident took place at Lukou-chiao, near the Marco Polo bridge ten miles from Peking, on the night of July 7. Japanese troops of the Tientsin garrison were holding night maneuvers, and one man—a private—disappeared. The Japanese decided to teach the bumptious Chinese a lesson. They attacked the Chinese to recover this missing man. Fighting started. Then the lost private reappeared. He had been in a brothel apparently. No matter. The incident was a good pretext; within twenty-four hours 35,000 Japanese troops poured through Tientsin toward Peking. Everything was ready. Whether this Marco Polo incident of 1937, like the Mukden incident of 1931, was made by local Japanese officers without knowledge of the Tokyo government is unknown. In any case the Tokyo government had no choice but to support what the army did.

Chiang Kai-shek kept his head. He still did not want to fight if warfare could be avoided. But he could not hold his own people back. This was quite a different mat-

ter from Manchuria and Jehol; here China proper—almost its heart—was involved. At Kuling, on July 16, he made a speech quite unlike any other he had addressed to the Japanese or to his own people. He demanded the evacuation of Japanese troops from the Peking area. He told the nation that it must fight or perish if the Japanese did not withdraw. He did not propose to yield another inch. The Japanese replied by marching on Peking itself, which fell, without firing a shot, on July 29, 1937. Tientsin was taken the next day.

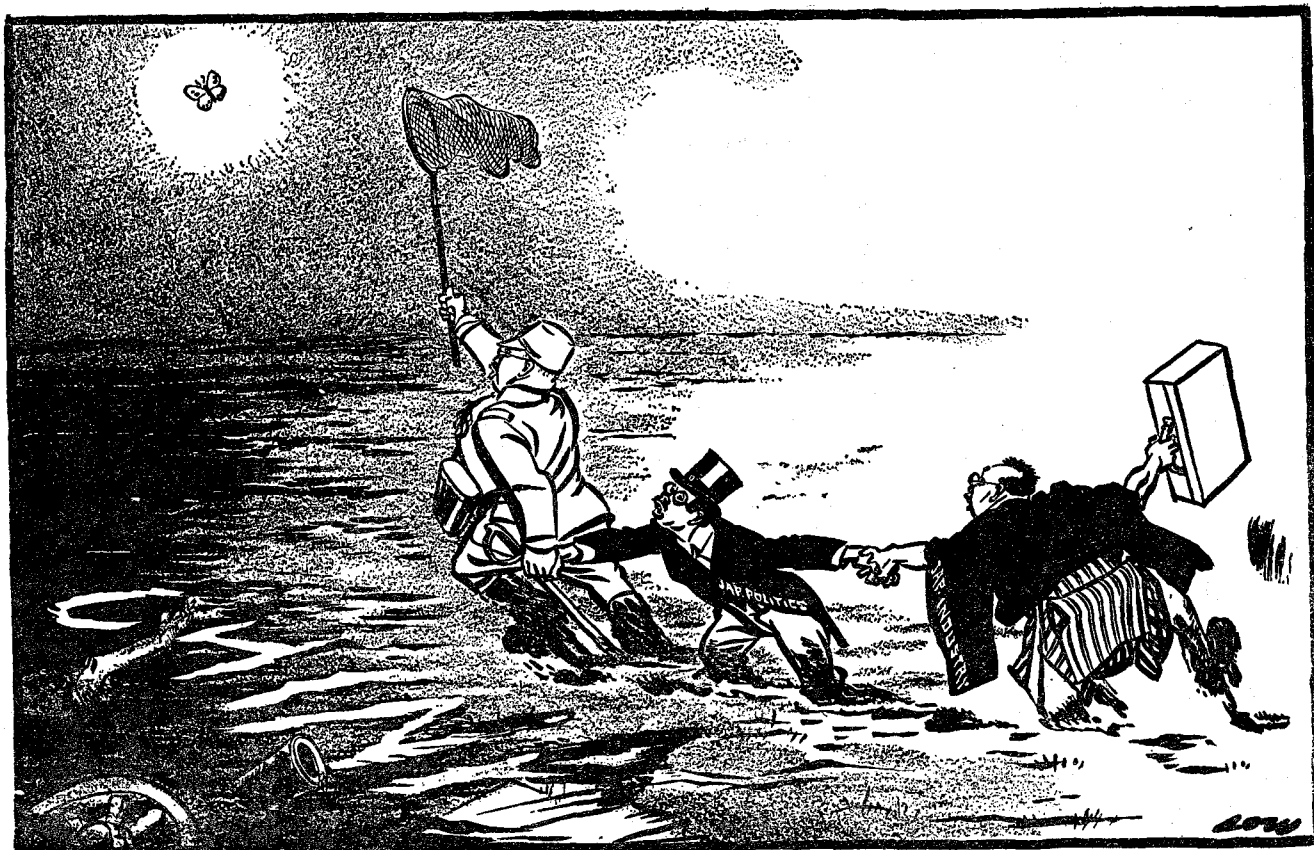
Then, just as in 1931-32, fighting recrudesced spontaneously in Shanghai. The Chinese were maddened by events in the north. Large numbers of Chinese troops drew into the suburban area beyond Shanghai, supposed to be demilitarized. A Japanese officer, in uniform, was discovered prowling near the Hungjiao airdrome. This was a dangerous thing to do. He was challenged by a Chinese sentry; he shot the sentry, and then was shot himself. This was on August 9. Within two days a stream of Japanese troopships was converging on Shanghai.

In 1932 Chiang Kai-shek had stood aside while the Nineteenth Route Army fought. This time he did not do so. He poured the flower of his new army into the Shanghai area, and had there not been some bad staff work, his troops might have pushed the hard-pressed Japanese into the sea. The battle lasted till November 9. It was the biggest battle the world had seen since Verdun; Chinese casualties alone are calculated at not less than 450,000 in three months. Chinese resistance was stubborn; the Japanese attack was violent. The Chinese receded,

gave up the Shanghai triangle in November, and lost Nanking, the national capital, on December 13. There is fierce dispute among military folk as to whether Chiang, at such gigantic cost, should have attempted to hold Nanking. His German military mission thought not. He decided to try to save Nanking, no matter how many men he would lose, because of its psychological importance.

Some military experts believe that the Japanese by taking Nanking "lost the war." They had the bear—or dragon—by the tail; they could not go back, once they were so far inland; Chiang enticed them deeper and still deeper into the interior, which cost them tremendously in men and yen. They had to proceed to an attempt to conquer China. Most good observers do not think that, originally, the Japanese planned to attack Central China at all. They wanted to nip off the Five Northern Provinces once and forever; they didn't want a major war if a minor one could as easily serve their purpose. So Chiang initiated a process of what might be called attrition in reverse; he fought, he receded a little, he stood, he receded again, always with the object of making any Japanese advance extremely expensive. There was one important Chinese forward movement, and victory, at Taier-chuang in Shantung, in March, 1938.

The primary Japanese objective during the first half of 1938 was junction of their northern armies in the Hopei-Shantung area near the Yellow River with their central army in the Yangtze Valley, based on Nanking. This was achieved by a long battle at Hsuechow in May. The Japanese then gained control of the Lunghai railway, the



FURTHER AND DEEPER.

great west-east Chinese railway (built and formerly administered by Belgians, incidentally); they began to push southwestward in a great expanding arc. Hankow, where the Generalissimo moved after the fall of Nanking, fell in October, 1938. Chinese troops retreated west and took up new positions in Szechwan. The guerrillas, meanwhile, fought hard in the north and held most of Shansi. They developed the technique of getting the people to rise *behind* the Japanese front line.

But in October, 1938, the Chinese lost Canton. This was a crippling blow, more serious than the loss of Nanking and Hankow together. The great bulk of Chinese munitions had come from Hongkong via Canton to Hankow, although the Japanese incessantly bombed the railroad. With Canton gone this route was cut. The Japanese took Canton while Europe was recovering from the Munich crisis. The Chinese had not bothered to defend it seriously, never dreaming that Japan would invade China so far in the south and so close to Hongkong and Kowloon, British territory. But the Japanese decided after Munich that the British no longer had the will—or power—to protect what had hitherto been considered their vital interests in the Far East. Mr. Chamberlain sold out Czechoslovakia at Munich; he very gravely damaged China too.

THE CHINESE POSITION: SUPPLIES

Advantages to China in the 1939 deadlock are several. First, time is on the side of the Chinese, and time is a tremendous factor. The longer the war goes on the better it is for China, because the standard of living in Japan is depressed every month the war continues, while the Chinese can—and do—live on the country and fight naked. Second, the Chinese army, rebuilt after the Shanghai-Nanking débâcle in 1937, has improved immeasurably, though it could be still better. Third, defense is less expensive than attack. The Japanese must *win* in order to win; the Chinese can, more or less, stand pat. Fourth, guerrilla warfare, as we know, has played havoc with Japanese communications and morale.

Perhaps the greatest advantage to China is the inordinately difficult military-cum-administrative job facing the Japanese. The front runs 2,350 miles, and the Japanese are trying to hold eleven great provinces, covering at least 800,000 square miles and with a population of at least 200,000,000 people. China is like a blanket: the Japanese hold the seams, that is, the canals, the railways, the rivers, the great cities. But to hold the seams is not enough. Japan has almost 800,000 troops below the Wall, and hesitates to increase this vast army, the upkeep of which costs money. There is another 400,000 above the Wall, the Kwantung army of occupation in Manchoukuo and Mongolia, which costs money, too.

Disadvantages to China are several also. First, though the army has improved greatly, it is by no means a first-

class fighting force. Chiang has about 1,500,000 men under arms, but only about one-third of them are capable of front-line work. The Chinese army is composed largely of provincial levies, which differ considerably in quality. Some Kwangsi troops have been superb; some others have not been superb. Recruits do not spring from a well-integrated system of national conscription, and they are thrown into the front with insufficient training. It is, moreover, exceptionally difficult to weld different provincial units into a compact, cohesive national force. After a battle divisions cannot be reformed of remnants of other divisions; troops from different areas may not speak the same dialect, may not even eat the same food. The greatest military problem in China is to melt and cast these varying strains into a single solid ingot. Another point is that the Chinese gravely lack aircraft and artillery.

Second, financial considerations. China has lost all its important seaports, most of its railways; it has lost its richest tax-collecting provinces and 90 per cent of the maritime customs. By arrangement with the British, the Japanese now collect Chinese customs in the ports they control; technically they do not seize the revenue but merely "block" it in earmarked accounts at the Yokohama Specie and other banks. But China loses this revenue, and Japan has the use of it. Almost 60 per cent of Chinese revenue came normally from the maritime customs. Finally, the Chinese export trade has severely suffered, and there is virtually no silver left. One talks glibly of the economic drain in Japan. The economic drain in China is probably almost as severe.

Third, the whole matter of supplies. The Canton-Hankow line had been the great trough for shipment of supplies. Now that Canton is lost, the Chinese have only three routes left: the old caravan route in the north, Sian-Lanchow-Urumchi, into the Soviet Union; the French narrow-gauge railway from Haiphong and Hanoi to Kunming (Yunnanfu), the capital of Yunnan; and the new road from Burma (British territory), on the other side of Yunnan, to Yunnanfu and Chungking.*

THE JAPANESE POSITION

The immediate Japanese aim in 1939 is twofold: first, to hold the front and consolidate it; second, to exploit the occupied areas so that China will in effect be made to pay for its own destruction. Behind these immediate aims are, of course, others: the Japanese want to prevent the unification of China, to attack British influence and prestige, and to get something *out* of the war, concrete benefits to parade before the people.

Point One. The Japanese hold the great north-south railway from Peking to Canton at each end and, at Hankow, in the middle. What they want is to gain complete control of this railway, so that their armies will have

* These routes and the problem of Chinese finances were dealt with in greater detail in an article by Mr. Gunther that appeared in *The Nation* for August 13, 1938.



maneuverability, which the Chinese have not. They then hope to intrench immediately in front of this railway and make it their impregnable Chinese frontier, above the Yangtze at least. Then, behind these intrenchments, they plan to turn backward, fight the war over again—in reverse—from the railway to the sea, and thus liquidate passive resistance, individual terrorism, and the guerrillas. This campaign, it is hoped, will give them complete military security. It will take a long time, since the railway itself is by no means completely held. What will be left of China if this plan succeeds is almost railroadless hinterland. The Japanese do not envisage Chinese offensive power sufficient to throw them out. The Chinese, be it remembered, have very little aircraft and almost no artillery.

Point Two. Politically the Japanese are attempting to administer the conquered areas by puppet governments, while economically they exploit them by several agencies. The new "China Federal Reserve Bank" has been set up, with capital furnished 50 per cent by the Yokohama Specie Bank, though the Japanese barefacedly deny that they control it. It issues banknotes, paper yuan convertible into Japanese yen, with which it seeks to drive out Chinese dollars, which by fiat have been reduced 40 per cent in value. But the Chinese peasants will not sell their goods for yuan. What might be called a currency war is in progress—especially since Britain and the United States have each helped to prop up the legitimate Chinese dollar with loans of \$25,000,000.

The Japanese—without much success—have tried to suck Chinese dollars, which are backed by silver, out of the peasantry. These they sell for foreign exchange, thus driving the Chinese currency down. So China has imposed a strict currency control, with British backing. This has infuriated the Japanese against the British, even

though the British cooperate with Japan in the new customs regime. Britain, says Japan, is the chief factor maintaining Chinese strength: first, because of its support of Chinese currency; second, because of Hongkong—British territory—which is the Chinese capital so far as finance, supplies, trade are concerned, as well as a perfect home for Chinese officials, who go in and out with impunity.

Two huge mechanisms of industrial exploitation have been set up by Japan in conquered territory—the North China Development Company (capital 350,000,000 yen, half of which was contributed by the Japanese government), and the Central China Development Company (capital 110,000,000 yen). Both are under the supervision of the new "China Board" in Tokyo, which is controlled by the army and which has frozen out the Foreign Office from control of Chinese affairs. These companies will attempt to develop electric power in China, build up transport, collect crops, manufacture salt, explore mineral deposits, and otherwise assimilate the country. The idea is to transform China into a solid Japanese monopoly, with the Open Door shut and foreign business as far as possible excluded. Thus the Yangtze has remained closed and Canton has been cut off. The best Chinese weapon of resistance to this plan of economic conquest has been the "scorched earth" policy. Rather than turn over their industries to Japan, the retreating Chinese burn the factories if they cannot move them. The textile mills at Tsingtao were burned, with a loss of \$100,000,000 (Chinese). Rather than let the Japanese feed on their crops, the Chinese burn the fields.

The greatest advantage of the Japanese is their command of the air, plus good artillery. The greatest danger to them is the overconfidence fostered by the capture of Canton. Before Canton they had little ambition to chase Chiang Kai-shek beyond Hankow. So long as they intrench along the northern railway and the Yangtze, they are in no military danger except from guerrillas. If they overextend themselves by attempting to penetrate Yunnan and Szechwan, they may meet disaster.

The material damage caused by the war is all but incalculable. About 70 per cent of Chinese industry has been destroyed or taken over by the Japanese; industrial damage in the Shanghai area alone is stated to be \$600,000,000. Above and beyond this staggering dislocation is human suffering almost without parallel in recent history. I do not mean military casualties, which are considerable enough. I mean refugees. We have heard much about the several kinds of European refugees. In China, in the Shanghai-Nanking area alone, there are *sixteen million* refugees.

A final word on Western attitudes. Both Britain and the U. S. S. R. play roughly the same game, helping the Chinese—a little—against the Japanese, in order that Japan shall not become too strong. Some observers, however, feel that Britain may make an agreement with Japan

where they will remain in control at least of North China. The return for cessation of the war, which is seriously damaging British trade. If the war should last long enough, all foreign powers might derive profit from it: defeat of the Japanese would break the power of the military in Japan, and perhaps make China a progressive, stable, pacific state.

In December, 1938, the Japanese announced their peace terms, which included (1) Chinese recognition of Manchoukuo and adherence to the anti-Comintern pact, (2) Inner Mongolia to become a special "anti-Communist" area, (3) Japanese troops to be stationed in various parts of China, (4) opening of China—especially Inner Mongolia and the Five Northern Provinces—to Japanese development, (5) abolition of the Kuomintang. To this the Chinese made no answer; such "terms" were impossible to answer. In January, 1939, however, Madame Chiang announced China's minimum conditions—peace with honor, which must include the territorial integrity of China, administrative sovereignty, and "equal treatment."

The present position is a complete stalemate which may persist a long time. The Japanese are not strong enough to push the Chinese into Tibet; the Chinese are not strong enough to push the Japanese into the sea. The Japanese—if they maintain their present strength—may follow their invention of the concept of undeclared war by making an undeclared peace. They may choose to let the fighting fray out, hold what they have, and attempt to proceed with economic exploitation without calling off the war. But they must face the united and regenerated force of the Chinese nation. They are fighting a people that never has been permanently beaten.

Pocket Guide

MERCHANDISING experience has shown that except in theory Americans really don't care much about saving a nickel or a dime when they're shopping. Two things annoy buyers; two things make them organize and fight. One is poor quality, when they find out about it. The other is the belief that somebody is trying to put something over on them. To combat these things consumers' organizations all over the country are talking, writing, and working. Some of them are doing good work, some of them foolish work; the sincerity of some is questionable.

The good ones, and even the foolish ones, annoy advertisers and manufacturers, though the foolish ones are often putty in their hands. But so vigorous is the movement—so angry is the general public growing—that even the imitation consumer groups, and there are plenty of them, are doing some good. The reason is simple. If you send out a lot of printed matter and speakers to tell the consumer about quality, honest merchandising, taxes, and the like, you have got to deliver something to your readers and your audiences

or they won't listen. So every dubious consumer outfit yells blue murder—about somebody else's product. Each hammers the other fellow's goods. The canned-goods consumer organizations are all for pure silk; the margarine and vegetable-oil people demand better butter; the automobile people want nearly everything better except automobiles; and many groups think only all-wool fabrics should be sold.

Fabrics got the first, and the worst, drubbing because fabric manufacturers are poor advertisers and few chain stores sell drygoods. None of these so-called consumer outfits have yet spoken up about pure cigarettes or labels for canned goods. But some day soon the cigarette people may get busy and insist that cans have labels that tell all; and the canned-goods people may demand purer cigarettes. In all this noise and recrimination, your job is to sit still and laugh. Out of their pounding of one another you may get something.

In an earlier piece I listed what I considered the ablest of the consumer organizations, and I have had a little to say about the work of the cooperatives. A book that covers the subject thoroughly is Dr. Horace Kallen's "The Decline and Rise of the Consumer" (D. Appleton-Century Company, \$2.75).

But in spite of all the good work done for consumer protection by private organizations, it seems to me that the chief job has to be done by the government—national, state, or city. No private organization could do what is now being done by the New York Bureau of Weights and Measures. It is of vital importance that real consumer organizations keep in touch with these government agencies, back them up, and watch what happens to them under a change of administration.

The average person has little idea of what is being done by the three national-government agencies—the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Bureau of Standards. The Federal Trade Commission had little power until the Lea bill gave it censorship over advertising. In the time since this bill was passed, it has stopped an amazing amount of lying advertising. The Bureau of Standards has to analyze everything that the government buys. It would be a grand help to us in our own shopping if we could have the information it has dug up.

The new Food, Drugs, and Cosmetics Act was passed not quite a year ago, and only part of it—that dealing with new or dangerous drugs and devices and poisonous cosmetics—went into effect at once. Yet in this period the dangerous obesity cures have disappeared from interstate commerce. The mere passage of the act stopped the sale of some remedies containing dinitrophenol, a drug that had killed or blinded many women. But it did not altogether stop the interstate shipping of dangerous eyelash dyes, and the Food and Drug Administration had to seize Lash-Lure, the most notorious of them. It has seized seventy-nine shipments of poisonous cosmetics and started five criminal prosecutions, and has seized forty-two shipments of dangerous drugs and fifty-one shipments of dangerous devices. In all those cases legal action was taken, but thousands of other products were withdrawn from the market the moment the act was passed. In addition hearings have been held on food standards, coal-tar products, and so on—a good record for the first year.

At the end of the first year the rest of the statute becomes operative except the labeling provisions and those on coal-tar color processes. I'm sure we'll see some fireworks this coming year.

President Roosevelt was right when he said that the work of the government needs to be advertised to the people. But he said it to the wrong crowd when he suggested it to the advertising men.

HELEN WOODWARD

In the Wind

WHILE FRENCH and Dutch banks have for some time been known to be "considering" a large loan to Franco, it is now learned that important British interests are quietly encouraging the move. During the war Franco refused to let British owners of Spanish properties—of the Rio Tinto mines, for example—extract their full dividends, although they supported his cause in England. Now they hope that in return for the projected loan he will permit "business as usual."

REPORTED ONLY in labor papers, a significant incident occurred during the Newspaper Guild strike against the *Chattanooga News*. Covering the strike himself, the paper's managing editor wrote a story asserting that the linotypers had to fight their way through Guild picket lines to go to work. The linotypers, reports Federated Press, refused to set the story. Finally the managing editor revised his copy.

A REVEALING exchange between George ("Knights of the White Camellia") Deatherage and Dies himself was charitably omitted from newspaper accounts of the recent Dies committee sessions. Dies was lecturing Deatherage on the need for tolerance of "racial" and "religious" groups. Deatherage bellowed, "I am bigoted enough to believe in white supremacy in the South." Dies, long a foe of anti-lynching legislation, uncomfortably granted that "exception."

THOUGH NOTORIOUS for his excessive drinking in pre-Hitler Germany, Dr. Robert Ley, leader of the Nazi Labor Front, delivered the keynote address at the recent Hygiene Congress. His tirade against smoking and drinking was widely reported. But eyewitnesses insist that Dr. Ley hasn't converted himself, and that during his address he was slightly under the influence. When Dr. Ley thundered that he had become a teetotaler at great personal sacrifice, he almost stopped the show.

WHEN THE International Business Machine exhibit opened at the World's Fair, it included a gallery of paintings by artists of seventy-nine countries. Each picture was numbered to correlate with a catalogue. Recently a visitor discovered that Number 62 was missing and checked with the catalogue. Number 62 was the Soviet contribution, painted by Ilio Ivanovich; it was called *Girl with Sunflower* and had been favorably noted by critics. Attendants were non-committal about the disappearance.

REPRESENTATIVE JACOB THORKELSON of Montana is being boomed for President by the Silver Shirts. Thorkelson, according to the *Congressional Record*, recently said in

the House, "I am not a victim of split personality, and when I voice apprehension it is not because of personal beliefs or opinions but is instead based on our departure from a republican form of government and into conversion into a democracy or a socialistic state."

SPAIN FOR THE SPANIARDS: In Catalonia the German language may be used anywhere, but beginning in July Catalan is banned from signs, business posters, and other commercial activities.

THE N. A. M. is bombarding business men with pleas for funds for its propaganda war chest. . . . A chapter of Senator Reynolds's *Vindicators* has been launched in Los Angeles. . . . In London it is reported that German arms are still being shipped to China. . . . H. Ralph Burton, an investigator for the House committee probing the WPA, was formerly on Father Coughlin's staff. . . . James D. Mooney, General Motors vice-president, returned from Europe eulogizing Neville Chamberlain and General Franco. . . . The Nazis are publishing propaganda books in Braille.

STUDENTS AT Waseda University, Japan, recently cast ballots for their "favorite heroes." Of the four receiving the most votes, two were Japanese and two were Germans. One of the Germans was Adolf Hitler. The other was Germany's greatest humanist, Goethe.

A PET SHOP in midtown New York carries this advertisement: "Dog Owners: Young college men are now available who will call for and exercise your dog for a moderate fee."

RECENTLY CONSUMERS UNION took *Parents' Magazine* to task for advertising products which medical experts frown upon; it cited the *Journal of the American Medical Association* as its authority for questioning a nose-drop ad. Indignantly the Consumers' Bureau of *Parents' Magazine* protested that the Union hadn't named the author of the article, and emphasized that signed articles in the *Journal* don't necessarily represent A. M. A. opinion. To bulwark this point *Parents' Magazine* exhibited a letter from Dr. Morris Fishbein defending nose drops. Neither Dr. Fishbein nor the magazine had looked up the original *Journal* piece—which was not a signed article but an editorial expressing the A. M. A.'s opinion. Dr. Fishbein had refuted himself.

ONE-THOUSANDTH of a nation: *Town and Country* recently surveyed America's upper classes and recorded this description of the typical "rich" family: It has five members; they live in a town house of eighteen rooms and a country house of twenty-two rooms; they have eleven servants, own three cars and two horses, travel extensively, entertain 181 guests a month during the summer and 138 a month in the winter, and they buy 2,400 bottles of beverages a year.

THE NAZIS privately call Mussolini "district leader for Italy."

[We invite our readers to submit material for *In the Wind*—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of \$5 will be awarded each month for the best item.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

SO OUR brave Administration has at last decided to give us the benefit of its advice as to what Congress should do about the neutrality law. After keeping Congress in doubt since January 1, Secretary Hull has now come out in what amounts to support of the Pittman bill. He calls for the removal of the war-time embargo on arms and ammunition on the ground that they are now no more important than practically everything else utilized by a government in modern warfare, such as, no doubt, food, scrap iron, cotton, automobiles, and all the rest of the long list of auxiliary supplies. Thus he would have us revert to our old status before the passage of the neutrality law and let everybody come and buy whatever he pleases; but presumably the Administration will keep a weather eye open and make sure that only those nations which it thinks are in the right get weapons and shells and airplanes.

At least Secretary Hull did not go as far as Senator Thomas, who proposed that the President be given the power to name aggressor nations, with the approval of Congress, and to restrict trade with them. That, of course, would not mean neutrality but unneutrality. It would mean that whoever was President would have it in his power, if his party agreed with him and was in the majority in Congress, to say that this country or that was in the wrong and therefore could not buy munitions from us, but that we would sell them cheerfully to the countries we believed to be the aggrieved. Mr. Hull's own proposal is not much better considering the situation in Europe. Suppose war comes because of Danzig. Danzig is a German city, should never have been taken away from Germany, and must in the long run be given back. Shall we turn our backs on self-determination and sanction war over Danzig? If Mr. Hull's policy prevails, we shall be back precisely where we were in 1914-17: since Germany and Italy will not be able to buy munitions in the United States we shall be taking sides with one party to the war because the other has lost control of the seas. We shall again be getting rich as an adjunct of the British and French war machines, with the natural result of again being under terrific pressure to enter the war if things do not go well with the Allies.

It is my belief that Senator Borah is absolutely correct when he says that Mr. Hull's recommendation would make "an arsenal out of the United States" and not serve "the cause of peace or humanity in any way." I stand with Senator Vandenberg when he declares that there

is "only one kind of neutrality—that contained in the old law. Any time you change the old law you change it for unneutral purposes, and I am not interested in unneutral purposes." And the four peace organizations which immediately opposed Secretary Hull's proposition rightly pointed out that it was "a serious reflection on the intelligence of the American people that they would rather risk peace than the profits of war."

I am hopeful that the Hull proposal will make no headway in what remains of this session of Congress. If it is to be discussed it will keep the Congress in session over the whole summer and may even result in a long-drawn-out filibuster. The law should stand as it is since the Congress cannot bring itself to be content with re-establishing the cash-and-carry provisions which lapsed by limitation on May 1. Members of the House committee which has been hearing witnesses on the neutrality law are so confused, and the arguments, they say, are so strong on both sides, that they do not know which way to turn. When Congress meets next January we shall have a much better idea of what is going to happen in Europe. If war should come in the meantime, the President could always call an extra session of Congress to deal with the emergency.

The main thing to remember is that the bulk of Americans today want this country to remain really neutral and not to become involved with one set of belligerents. They know that the neutrality bill was not a hasty thought but was voted by the Congress three years in succession, with an increasing majority for the bill each time. The majority of Americans are not yet misled by the propaganda that we must stand by the democracies to the extent of going to war for them. If the people have their sense of humor left, as I believe that they have, they will find it extremely difficult to get up any enthusiasm for sending American boys overseas to fight for such a sterling democracy as Poland, whose treatment of the Jews is almost as bad as Hitler's, or Russia, provided Russia really gets its pound of flesh and joins England and France. M. Molotov, the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, doubts that those countries are sincere in their desire to curb the aggressors. But if Russia should join the saviors of democracy and we should send our sons to aid, what a sight for the gods that would be—the flag of free America alongside those of the Russian and Polish dictators, the soldiers of all fighting gloriously for the right of self-government and the freedom of the individual!

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

A STORMY PASSAGE

BY ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

WHEN Lord Acton called attention to the importance of collecting the materials of history from contemporary documents, fear was expressed by some historians that their function would be submerged in future by the sheer mass of such accumulation. This was in the nineteenth century, when history was generally conceived in the limited sphere of politics, and the bulk of the material to which Lord Acton referred consisted of official documents, books, periodicals, and newspapers. Today when history includes, besides politics in the conventional sense, economics, sociology, art, literature, music, drama, and when its sources are increased by the temporal arts of the radio and the moving picture, the protestants of the last century might pronounce the task of the historian impossible. They would be reckoning, however, without their Beards. In the third volume* of their "Rise of American Civilization" these authors have made a masterly synthesis of American life and culture in the years 1927-38, omitting nothing though setting down some things with pardonable malice. A vivacious summary of the Golden Glow which faded suddenly in 1929 is followed by chapters on the depression, the New Deal, the vagaries of recent foreign policy, labor, entertainment, literature, art, science, social thought, concluding with a "reconsideration of democracy." It is a performance amazing in its comprehensiveness, its accuracy, its reasonable and impartial tone. It is as interesting as the last *Reader's Digest*, and as useful as "Who's Who" or "The World Almanac."

A casual inspection of the book might give the impression that it was a mere compilation. Indeed, its value as a work of reference is evident in its clear, succinct summaries of the foreign-loan situation in 1914-17, of the investigations conducted by the Federal Trade Commission or committees of Congress, of legislative actions, and court decisions. There is, however, a principle of integration under which the various topics are brought to achieve a common end. A theme is sounded in the second chapter by the resolution of the railroad brotherhoods: "There is a growing demand that the entire business and social structure be changed because of the general dissatisfaction with the present system." The same note is sounded near the close in a quotation from President

Hoover's Committee on Social Trends, which declared indispensable, "willingness and determination to undertake important integral changes in the reorganization of social life, including the economic and the political orders, rather than the pursuance of a policy of drift." Implicit throughout the discussion is the question whether mankind is a maker or a victim of history, and while the authors give no categorical answer the tendency of their thought is clear. In the face of the staggering evidence of collapse in economy, of a maldistribution of income according to which "0.1 per cent of the families at the top received practically as much as 42 per cent of the families at the bottom of the scale," of a land misused, deforested, burned, blighted, eroded, its soil blown about as dust and its subsoil resources wasted, there is an affirmation of human will in the collective effort of government, in the recognition of science that "man is the measure of all things," in the renaissance of arts and literature, which forbids the pessimistic comparison of our situation to that of the Western Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Beards find ample scope for the play of irony in their account of the fantastic operations of the economic overlords in the period of Golden Glow. The manipulation of the stock of the Kolster Radio Corporation or the Anaconda Copper Company is a beautiful illustration of the "unconscious and automatic" operation of the market. The testimony of Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank before the finance committee of the United States Senate with reference to the sale of foreign bonds needs no comment: "Many of us have found real inspiration in the fact that in the issuance of this large volume of foreign loans we were playing a part in the development of American trade and industry. That was our first motive always." The naivete of Morgan and Lee Higginson is in amusing contrast with the hard-boiled insolence of Albert H. Wiggin of the Chase National Bank. The authors have a happy faculty of selecting for the record the acts and sayings which the "Lords of Creation" and priests of "High Respectability" are most anxious to forget. Of President Hoover's efforts to meet the storm which burst over his head in 1929, however, they are respectful if not admiring. "Instead of greeting the visitation with the old cry 'God wills it,' or 'Nature decrees it,' Hoover invoked intelligence and took action in conquering the periodical black death

* "America in Midpassage." By Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

which had so often disrupted industrial processes . . . he broke from precedents and made precedents in the discharge of his duties as Chief Executive of the United States."

For the Administration of President Roosevelt the Beards have genuine enthusiasm. For the first time in the history of the country the welfare, or at all events the subsistence, of the mass of the people was made a first charge on the functions of government. In the last chapter, *Toward a Reconsideration of Democracy*, the authors explain that the founders of the Republic considered government and economics as inseparably associated, and recognized that every form of government "is closely connected with the forms and distribution of wealth." They quote Daniel Webster on the political wisdom of founding government on property and then establishing such distribution of property "as to interest the great majority of society in the protection of the government." They regard Franklin D. Roosevelt as combining in his thought the two most powerful tendencies in American history—"the severe economic analysis of the Hamilton-Webster tradition, with the humanistic democracy of the parallel tradition." They praise his measures because they "looked in the direction of strengthening the economic foundations of democracy—salvaging agriculture, fortifying the bargaining power of industrial workers, minimum wages, social insurance, old-age pensions, employment for the idle, security of livelihood and home, protection against the hazards of economic defeat." And they approve his revival of the tradition of humanistic democracy in discussing by radio the problems of American life and stirring thought upon them throughout the country.

Only in respect to foreign policy do the authors find ground for severe criticism of the Administration. They insinuate that the Chicago speech on October 5, 1937, about quarantining the aggressors was a move to divert attention from Justice Black's very equivocal denial of membership in the Klan. They scoff at the "insatiate desire" of the Administration to give moral lectures to the "trouble-makers"—Japan, Italy, and Germany—"two of whom it had in fact aided in their war on Spain and the other in a war on China." The authors survey the schools of thought with reference to foreign policy with a strong preference for that which in the Neutrality Act devised a plan to keep the United States out of war. They condemn the imperial isolationists of the Theodore Roosevelt-Mahan school, who urge a big navy to protect national interests. They are equally opposed to "collective internationalism," which looks toward the "world image" sketched by Cobden and Bright and given precision by the League of Nations, and to "international communism," both being unreal products of indoor philosophers. They identify themselves rather with an American-civilization school which would con-

centrate on developing the unique position and advantages of the United States for the benefit of our own people. It would seem that the Beards overlook a fifth school which believes that we should extend to the victims of violence in the world such help as is possible short of engaging in war, which would inevitably mean the downfall of democracy. Obviously such a policy to be valid depends on a sentiment for peace among our own citizens strong enough to meet severe tests. Unfortunately, as appears in the chapter on Sources of Entertainment, the greatest entertainment in the world is war, and the militaristic elements in the government cannot escape condemnation for using moving pictures and the newsreel with representations of warfare to excite the warlike passion in their audiences. Nevertheless, this phenomenon emphasizes the fact that so long as there is war anywhere there will be the danger of our participation, if not for commercial then for psychological reasons. The "world imagists" come in for some of the authors' mordant irony, but their contention is true that our only certain escape from war is the banishment of war from the world.

The chapter on Labor in Evolving Economy is a concise history of the labor movement through the stormy period of rapidly increasing organization under the NRA, and the conflict between craft and industrial unionism. The authors uphold the Wagner Act as extending principles already incorporated in older legislation, and the proceedings of the National Labor Relations Board. Their account of labor on the land is not hopeful. The increase of tenancy from 25 per cent in 1880 to 42 per cent in 1935, until in some states only one-fifth of the equity in land is in the hands of operating farmers, threatens the very soil itself with ruin, when it is worked by transients who have no interest in its health. While there is little hope of immediate cooperation between urban and rural labor, yet the logic of the situation is beginning to have its effect. "As industry and agriculture contracted, as the web of a mutual fate drew tighter around urban and rural workers, thought followed, if haltingly and at a distance."

The chapters which follow are the most astonishing in the book for their knowledge of the aesthetic life of the country during the period, as seen in its entertainments—literature, painting, dancing, music. The Beards seem to have been alert to everything except sports. One misses the names of Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, and Dizzy Dean from the list of our leaders of culture. The accuracy of their judgment of plays and books is notable, as, for example, in the rating of John Dos Passos and James T. Farrell as the most significant among writers of fiction. The authors properly commend the Roosevelt Administration for its support of art, music, and literature through the WPA. Once more the correctness of judgment in details lends convincing force to the gen-

eralizations. The excellence of the chapter on Frames of Social Thought is less surprising only because expected.

Altogether "America in Midpassage" takes a high place in the writing of contemporary history. Professor Beard has lately avowed himself a member of the school of historians which has abandoned the scientific pretensions of Ranke to reproduce the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, and accepts the view of Croce that our view of the past must necessarily be conditioned by the psychology of the present. If this attitude be sound, it follows that valid history must be written in the present, its correctness depending not on the long perspective of time but upon the intellectual perspective in which the writer sees his facts. In its possession of this quality the present volume will be held a masterpiece.

Orestes in England

THE FAMILY REUNION. By T. S. Eliot. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.50.

IN "The Family Reunion," T. S. Eliot has attempted to use the Orestes story in modern terms and for his own special purpose. The subject of the play is the hero's gradual understanding of the sin and the guilt which have cursed his family and resulted in his own unspeakable awareness of evil. What happens, in the course of a family reunion, is that the hero learns or seems to learn the reason for the evil which afflicts him and what he must do about it. He must depart from his house, reject his position as head of the family, kill his mother (though indirectly), and pursue the specters who have been pursuing him just as the Erinyes hunted down Orestes. Where he is to go is unknown, but the direction is undoubtedly a Christian one without being named so, for the hero departs from his country house for the new life, saying:

I have not had the precise directions.
Where does one go from a world of insanity?
Somewhere on the other side of despair.
To the worship in the desert, the thirst and deprivation,
A stony sanctuary and a primitive altar.

The play itself, it seems, has not "had the precise directions." The family guilt, which the hero must expiate, is the crime committed by his mother: she has abused and degraded his father and driven him from the house. It is the crime, perhaps, of the domination, for the sake of domination, of one person by another. The emphasis is on the intention of the will; adultery and murder are hinted at but never confirmed. Orestes, by contrast, was guilty in a more adequate way from a dramatic standpoint: he had killed his mother, and he is hunted by specters with an exact religious meaning, whatever their truth. The crime in "The Family Reunion" is on the contrary left faint and indecisive, though it is meant to justify the whole crisis of the play, the fact that supernatural beings are actually present. The same indefiniteness dims the whole progress of the play.

Probably there is an immense difficulty in the subject, a peculiar and special difficulty of the present time. In trying

to dramatize the presence of the supernatural in natural life, in trying to display upon the stage a character's progressive awareness that he has to do with supernatural beings, not with the result of too much drinking, Eliot is faced with the problem of the disbelief inherent in any context of modern life. It is not in the least a question of what the modern audience will believe, for any audience will believe anything from Jules Verne to Walt Disney for the pure sake of seeing what happens to the protagonists. A modern audience will even believe in the supernatural if the protagonists are shown as acting and suffering in ways which are a plausible extension of the common denominator of human experience. But Eliot fails to find plausible extensions; he finds few extensions of any kind. The audience would be willing to assume the existence of what the hero sees, namely, the Furies standing in the window embrasure, if the hero's emotions during the play were with sufficient vividness related to and induced from what we all know of emotion, especially the emotion of nameless guilt. But the best that Eliot can do to get the experience of the supernatural upon the stage is such a speech as the announcement by the hero's chauffeur that he too has seen the Furies, or the hero's continual explanation that he cannot explain what he feels and no one else can see what he sees. The first-night audience in London which laughed at the wrong time was justified, although wisdom would perhaps have dictated tears; for modern characters, in the scene as given, do not see the supernatural without undergoing more radical changes—of heart, of mind, of interest—than do Eliot's characters.

Probably it was this difficulty of grounding the supernatural in modern life which made Eliot attempt to get in the dialogue so much of the idiom of modern speech. All the dialogue is supposedly versified, but it is very hard to accept much of it as verse at all, shocking as this may seem to one who recalls Eliot's previous poetry. What can one make of such a passage as this, which is a fair sample of all but two or three parts:

Nevertheless, Amy, there's something in Violet's suggestion.
Why not ring up Warburton and ask him to join us?
He's an old friend of the family, it's perfectly natural
That he should be asked. He looked after all the boys
When they were children. I'll have a word with him.

The speech gains nothing from the division into lines and possesses little rhythm which is not that of prose. The emphasis of emotion, the heightening of an attitude or a tone, the exact suggestiveness, the double irony which can be attained by the use of a regular rhythm of verse are wholly absent. Modern speech has defeated the poet, just as modern belief or disbelief has defeated the dramatist.

One might suppose, since the locus of guilt is an upper-class English country house, that this play signifies a new period in Eliot's mind, a rejection of the royalism and conservatism which in 1929 were affirmed as the only secular complement of Anglo-Catholicism. And this rejection might seem related to the poet's sense of what the English ruling class has recently done, so that the inadequacy of the play would flow fundamentally from the poet's new and as yet inadequately considered revulsion and perplexity. Actually, however, the poet of "Ash Wednesday" also seemed to see "the worship in the desert" in the Church of England, and

there has always been an obsessed horror of natural life and modern society in Eliot's poetry. We can say for certain, then, only that the failure of this play, in contrast with the success of "Ash Wednesday," issues from the fact that it is simpler to accomplish a Christian work of art in which the subject is personal emotion than one in which the subject has become family relationships and supernatural beings in a time and place in which neither Christianity nor any other belief or value can be assumed as genuine and unquestioned by the writer who wishes to show the relevance of his vision of life to other human lives.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Franco's Friend

AMERICA—LOOK AT SPAIN. By Merwin K. Hart. P. J. Kenedy and Sons. \$2.50.

IF THIS book has any importance, it is in its revelations of the growth of American fascism and not in what it tells of the recent struggle in Spain. The author, for some years president of the New York State Economic Council, after a trip to rebel Spain in the fall of 1938 blossomed out into chairman of the American Union for Nationalist Spain and became Franco's most outspoken non-Catholic defender in the United States. Significantly, while Mr. Hart is full of praise for Franco's "reforms," he has no good word for the reforms of the New Deal. His domestic political line was bluntly phrased in the "Economic Council Letter" of April 3, 1939, which he signed. "New Dealism," he wrote, "is nothing but the American form of communism." Franco's friend is, naturally enough, well known for his opposition to the Child Labor Amendment and organized labor; he sees the German nation under Hitler "lifted from despair and revived"; and he contemptuously describes the Spanish left as "hypnotized by ideas of the French and American revolutions."

The neo-fascist line now being rapidly developed by various American "patriotic" societies, Bundsters, Coughlinites, and Catholic-fascists—all ardently pro-Franco—holds this book together. Their trick of subtly insisting that the United States is not constitutionally a "democracy" but merely a "republic" is given here at length. (This same line is now being worked day and night by *Social Justice*, the *Tablet* of Brooklyn, the *Bund* publications, and others.) "Why, then, this sudden talk about democracy—this sudden injection of the word into every public utterance?" asks Mr. Hart. It is part of a Communist plot, he intimates, and sees something sinister in the fact that while Governor Lehman's inaugural addresses in 1933 and 1935 did not contain the word "democracy," his 1937 address contained it twice and his 1939 address twenty-five times. Mr. Hart also subscribes to the theory that while we have got along fairly well with democracy, there are some people in the world, including the Spanish, who are not suited to such radical ideas. This is doubtless the same argument that will be handed to us if, after the Franco victory, the South American countries go totalitarian also.

Mr. Hart has unearthed another dastardly bit of Communist skulduggery in the various United States laws limiting the sale of firearms. These laws are intended, he solemnly

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assures us, to leave the householder without a fowling piece when the reds come down on him. Mr. Hart clearly makes his point by asking: "In view of the fact that active communism in the United States dates from the end of the World War and that many of these anti-gun laws have been passed since that time, is it entirely unlikely that the passage of these laws is due to Communist influence?"

Mr. Hart's Spanish "facts" are not Franco's facts—they are the patented inventions of Franco's American Catholic apologists. In Franco's Spain, strangely enough, they tell a truer tale, and it is one of the minor misfortunes of the war that Mr. Hart, Ellery Sedgwick, and the rest of the *turistas* did not linger long enough in Franco's paradise of "law and order" to read a few Franco books and newspapers. Had Mr. Hart done this, he would not now so glibly deny the massacre at Badajoz. He would not assert so positively that the Spanish Phalanx is not a fascist organization if he knew that the Falangists boasted of their fascist principles. (Or would he?) By their own proud admission, Mr. Hart's Falangist boys—whom he fondly conceives to be Boy Scouts with a dash of crusading mysticism—were the toughest crew of street-brawling *pistoleros* that ever set out to save a country for their own particular brand of "Western civilization."

The quality of Mr. Hart's information on Spain is disclosed in his discussion of the twenty-six-point Falangist program, which, as he admits, is to be the basis of the Franco state. He writes that the program was published early in 1938 and that Dr. Negrín's Thirteen Points were issued in answer. The truth is that the Falangist program—containing one more point than it has today—was issued before the war. Moreover, it was offered to the Spanish people in free election on February 16, 1936, and failed to receive sufficient support to win one seat out of the 473 in the Cortes. It was rejected even by the Spanish right and could have been imposed on the Spanish people only by force of arms and non-intervention.

The appendix contains a rather clumsy forgery purported to be the detailed plans for the Communist uprising which, according to the new mythology, Franco forestalled. The weakness of this document is best shown by the fact that it has had little or no circulation in Spain, where its errors would be quickly spotted by the man in the street.

Mr. Hart presents in "Confidential Report No. 22" a list of the proposed "National Soviet." Included together in this fictitious revolutionary Cabinet are men from both the Largo Caballero and the Prieto branch of the Socialist Party—men whose deep political enmity kept them from collaborating before the war and, unfortunately, even throughout the war. This fact alone could condemn Mr. Hart's documents as not only forgeries but stupid forgeries.

This book is published by one of New York's leading Catholic publishers. It is worth a final paragraph to point out that although the greater part of American Catholic officialdom, with the notable exception of Cardinal Mundelein, was propagandizing desperately for Franco—and this includes most of the Catholic press and schools—these efforts failed to produce a single book or pamphlet in defense of their position distinguished for anything beyond a hysterical conception of history and a startling disregard for demonstrable fact. The desperate eagerness of Catholic spokesmen

in the United States to misrepresent the truth about the war in Spain will inevitably cause an unpleasant reaction, even among their own people, when the truth about the last few years in Spain is told—and it will be told if Franco and his allies, foreign and domestic, do not rapidly take us over.

H. RUTLEDGE SOUTHWORTH

A New Frontier

OUR PROMISED LAND. By Richard Neuberger. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

IN "Our Promised Land" Richard Neuberger, good reporter that he is, presents the Columbia River basin to his readers as the promising land it really is. Here is a new frontier beckoning to the conquered and overcrowded frontiers of the East, to the drought-stricken, dust-beaten farmers of the Middle West.

Neuberger presents also, to those who want to grasp it, a daring and radical but constructive answer to the nation's problems. Here is a land abounding in natural resources and offering new homes, new farms, new lives. Here is unlimited, cheap hydroelectric power, fortunately publicly owned, for factories and industries. Here, the author convinces you, Roosevelt has begun to build the great, free, and independent empire which Jefferson visualized in 1813.

Mr. Neuberger paints an enlightening picture of the benefits flowing from the giant Grand Coulee Dam and the smaller Bonneville Dam. Westerners, who know only too well the value of water conservation, may find the discussion elementary, but Easterners, prone to oppose similar projects, can discover in it, if they will, a hint for their own salvation.

Accompanying the analysis of the natural resources of the region is a sparkling, behind-the-scenes story of the politics of this great empire. Lieutenant Governor Victor Meyers has been portrayed in the kept press as a buffoon, but the people of Washington vote for him because he is liberal. Governor Martin of Oregon was played up in the newspapers as a hero, but the people of Oregon cast him aside because he served the corporate interests.

The treatment of the Montana political situation is fairly accurate, although Senator Wheeler's affinity for the Anaconda Copper Mining Company is much more real, much less an idea existing in the minds of liberal voters, than Neuberger tends to show. His study of McNary is good, and this reviewer particularly appreciated the sympathetic consideration accorded the late Congressman Marion Zioncheck, a martyr to the controlled press of the country. The reviewer also appreciates the treatment accorded himself, though naturally he resents a few thrusts and hopes the author will eventually change his mind.

"Our Promised Land" offers the readers two splendid portraits of the West's embattled labor leaders, Dave Beck and Harry Bridges. Beck is portrayed as the reactionary he is, the ally of business, the organizer of the despicable "goon squads," like his superior, Bill Green, making every concession to big business necessary to defeat progressive and liberal unionism. Bridges, on the other hand, although a leader is the servant of his union, democratically submitting problems to the rank and file, winning better conditions and wages

for his men, putting an end to the exploitation and injustices rife in the shipping industry. One of the finest reports of the struggle going on in the lumber industry for labor supremacy is recorded in the chapter Labor Titans at the Barricades.

Probably the most significant chapter in the entire book is that dealing with the efforts of the Mormon Church to take its members off WPA and relief rolls and put them to work producing the things which they themselves consume. Here is incontrovertible proof for Upton Sinclair that his Epic program could have succeeded. Here, in the opinion of the reviewer, is the solution at which America must soon arrive—the government of the United States employing men at prevailing wages, producing the things they consume—with which must come the necessary expropriation of natural resources, idle factories, mines, and mills.

The whole book is a fine contribution to contemporary political history. And whether knowingly or unwittingly, the author leaves no doubt that the great majority of the people in Our Promised Land are for Franklin D. Roosevelt, and for a third term at that.

JERRY O'CONNELL

Sic Semper Saroyan

PEACE IT'S WONDERFUL AND TWENTY-SIX OTHER STORIES. By William Saroyan. Modern Age Books. 50 cents.

IN ONE of these stories a Russian singer maintains that Saroyan does not fully understand the significance of what he himself writes. Well, says Saroyan, we're both brothers, producing music or words easily, effortlessly: "Very often I do not know what I write, what I say. I simply write, something perhaps more significant than I know, which falls in place by itself, rather strangely." Rather frequently too, he might have added, because he has become almost legendary as the tosser-off of a story a day or a play a week, and all of them splendid. If you don't believe it, ask him. "Most people meeting me, talking with me, do not get the impression that I am a great writer, and often do not believe me when I tell them so. Very often, even after I have told them six or seven times. . . ."

Maybe some people would only say things like this trying to be funny, but not William Saroyan. Well, you might say, why not punch him in the nose and be done with it? But if you read his stories (maybe you'd rather call them sketches, essays, vignettes, or reminiscences), especially this last collection, you might end up saying, maybe this guy isn't a stuck-up prig the way I thought from the way he boosts himself; maybe he's just like a child with an amazing gift for putting down what he sees and hears around him, and when he gets through he thinks, "Gee, that's good—did I do that?" Anyway, you'll think, he has a lot of vitality and natural ease and naivete, and he certainly likes a lot of different kinds of people, insurance salesmen and strikers and racetrack parasites and young would-be writers and Chinese waiters and Armenian farmers; and whether you like to admit it or not they're really alive, and when you finish the piece if you're mad it's because he got you interested in the people and then nothing happened, not because you object to his style. Maybe even for a few days you'll go around

Gen. Hugh Johnson columnist
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talking that glib, deceptively simple way the talk seems to flow out of Saroyan, never stiff with the consciousness of writing but just as if he were sitting talking at you (don't think you'd get a chance to say much). Just look what he's done to the style of this review.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

Shorter Notices

HAWK AMONG THE SPARROWS. By Desmond Hawkins. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

This is a slender tale of a small group of people living together in an ordinary middle-class household in a provincial English town. The story itself is so slight, the plot so attenuated, that the novel is merely a distended short story. The situations, the characters, and their motivations are the clichés of mid-Victorian fiction. Desmond Hawkins writes in a style that is carefully wrought and pellucid, but he has divorced himself from reality, and both his characters and his situations lack substance. One's interest is held only by the lambent prose with which the somewhat monotonously melodramatic plot is unfolded. But the fine writing does not compensate for the meretricious story or for characters that are moved like puppets.

THE RISING. By Myrtle Johnston. D. Appleton-Century Company. \$2.50.

"The Rising" well bears out the promise Miss Johnston gave with "Hanging Johnny," which was written when she was still in her teens. It is the story of the Irish "rising" in 1867 and of Wolfe Darragh, who had fled as a boy to America, fought in the Civil War, and returned, at the instance of the Fenian Brotherhood, to train and lead the men of Ballygowlan into the new rebellion. He had been assured that America would furnish arms and that all Ireland would be ready to use them against the English and the tyrannical landlords, but neither was true. What he found was a ragged handful of men equipped with pikes, willing to fight for the fight's sake without comprehending Ireland's need. Informers were thick among them, and Wolfe's love for Cathy might have been the undoing of them all had the rebellion not been precipitated. The craft of this novel is expertly managed; the gradual concrescence of its many moods and the rapid acceleration of its pace, from a beginning as static as Saint Columkille's prophecy to the desperate bloody end, are unequaled in recent Irish prose.

MUSIC

SARGEANT'S "Jazz: Hot and Hybrid" ends with a chapter called Jazz in Its Proper Place, on the limitations that make jazz an improbable source of concert music. In this chapter the scholar makes some sober and correct observations, the philosopher some extravagant, pretentious, rather silly, and incorrect ones. But that is what the subject seems to do to people. Sargeant himself remarks that it would not be necessary to put jazz in its place if there were not the exaggerated claims of its "hysterical devotees," which

put sensible people on the defensive"; and though he finds good jazz "an interesting and highly stimulating type of music," he is irritated by the "ridiculous superlatives . . . applied to the improvisatory blaring and thumping of night-club and honky-tonk musicians."

A new high in this frenzied word-slinging for effect—without regard even for consistency between effect in one sentence and effect in the next—was reached in the program-notes of the *New Masses* concert "From Spirituals to Swing"; and at this concert the boogie-woogie pianist Meade "Lux" Lewis was introduced as "a great composer." But the term "great" applied to a composer means what it does when applied to a dramatist like Shakespeare. It describes first of all a range of experience and emotion such as is communicated in a play of Shakespeare's or in things like the slow movements of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and Sonata Opus 111. And it describes also the extent of Shakespeare's or of Beethoven's command of the resources of his medium by virtue of his talent and training. It cannot, therefore, be applied to the jazz musician, who, as Sargeant observes, has only the limited resources of a "'natural musician' with a feeling for certain Negroid rhythmic and melodic styles"—resources adequate for his limited emotional range. This is true of the jazz musicians whose use of these resources is most imaginatively and ever freshly inventive; and it is more emphatically true of the tirelessly and tiresomely reiterative boogie-woogie pianists and unsophisticated blues and spiritual singers who were presented in absurdly exalted terms at the concert.*

But at a *New Masses* concert a boogie-woogie pianist who washes cars or a blues singer who is a farmhand is "a great composer"; and in the same way jazz, which we read in the first paragraph of the program-notes has been neglected by serious music-lovers and "has had to find its followers among uncritical groups," in the sixth paragraph "expresses America so clearly that its recognition here has come from the masses, particularly youth" (who are presumably "the jitterbug millions, lurching along on their new Children's Crusade" in the next paragraph). But this fails to distinguish (1) the music of the car washer and farmhand, which, as the notes put it a few pages later, "is so good that only the Negro people can be expected to buy it"; (2) the more richly inventive improvisations of the more sophisticated jazz musicians, which are appreciated by the small number of discriminating listeners; and (3) the blaring of the Goodman, Dorsey, Basie, and other large "swing" bands, which is what appeals to the large numbers

*To an audience whose idea of Negro music was presumed to be derived from the aural and visual exhibitionism of certain orchestras in deference to white ideas of Negro music, this concert undertook to present the authentic product; and what it presented was on the one hand the unsophisticated musicians, and on the other hand the Basie Orchestra. No attempt was made to show what ingredients the orchestra retained from the idiom of the others, mixed with what it had absorbed from Broadway; the audience was informed that what these musicians had in common was their "obvious sincerity," and that the Basie Orchestra would show that swing did not mean the noise and exhibitionism approved of by the jitterbugs—and then the Basie Orchestra all but blew the roof off Carnegie Hall with aurally and visually exhibitionistic playing that received the exhibitionistic approval of the jitterbugs in the audience.

of youth—masses of them, if you like, but not “the masses” in the sense this term has in the program-notes of a *New Masses* concert.

And now a company named Blue Note announces that its records “are designed to serve the uncompromising expressions of hot jazz, or swing, in general. Any particular style of playing which represents an authentic way of musical feeling is genuine expression. By virtue of its significance in place, time, and circumstance, it possesses its own tradition, artistic standards, and audience that keeps it alive. Hot jazz, therefore, is expression and communication, a musical and social manifestation, and Blue Note records are concerned with identifying its impulse. . . . Toward this end a deliberate cultivation is being made of those relaxed and informal movements when the performing artist is freely and meaningfully improvising . . .”—this, first, to the end that “those masters of the ‘boogie-woogie’ style, Meade ‘Lux’ Lewis and Albert Ammons,” might achieve “such direct honesty, freedom, and relaxation” in recorded performance as ordinary studio conditions had hitherto made impossible, and that Lewis in particular might “indicate for the first time perhaps the unexampled scope of [his] musical genius.” Actually, Ammons produces for Blue Note the same reiteration of boogie-woogie figures as for Vocalion a few weeks earlier; but Lewis is persuaded by the occasion to attempt profundity with nothing more than a pretentious rumble here and straining thrust there which in the end add up to zero.

As for the conditions of relaxation and informality which one is to suppose are Blue Note’s gift to jazz musicians, they are important of course, and musicians should have them. But I was present once at a Columbia recording session when a superb group of players led by Red Norvo were pestered all afternoon by some executive and yet managed not only to make some good records but to end up with the outstanding “Blues in E flat.” And on the other hand two more Blue Note records “were made at a 4:30 a.m. session under unusually informal conditions” by a group that included excellent players like Frankie Newton, J. C. Higginbotham, and Teddie Bunn—men who “are not only profoundly aware of but have actual roots in the grand tradition of *expressive* blues performance”; and what all this pretentious solemnity accomplished at these deliberately cultivated moments of informality was to make the playing self-conscious and lacking in spontaneity, while poor voicing and balance make it heavy and plodding. In spite of these handicaps, and in spite of Ammons, who obtrudes himself in the background when he isn’t messing up the foreground, Newton plays well; but to hear what he is capable of on trumpet you must listen to “The Blues My Baby Gave to Me” on Bluebird; just as to hear what Bunn can do on guitar you must listen to the superb Johnny Dodds “Wild Man Blues” on Decca.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

The Fair's Achievement

Dear Sirs: I have just read your paragraph about the Fair (in your issue of May 13), and I couldn't get to my typewriter fast enough.

For me the Fair has been a positive emotion, a pride and an excitement and an inspiration. Hitler has united his people on destruction and negation. And, I thought, where is the prophet to unite this nation of Americans on achievement and accomplishment?

Viewing with alarm applied to concrete incubi where there is a remedy is one thing, but this business of tearing and destroying everything that is American, that is us—and this means our industrial achievements as well as our cultural ones—can only serve to disunite us and destroy our self-respect and our pride. After all, we are constantly saying that democracy is better than totalitarianism, and at the same time constantly harping on our share-croppers and lynchings and strikes, and our heavy yoke of oppression. Why, in the name of God, when something is put forth that portrays the very best of our democracy, should your magazine come forth with petty sneers and supercilious snobbishness?

I would suggest that you take 75 cents out of your budget immediately and go over and see the General Motors exhibit—and the Ford exhibit, and the hundreds of other exhibits, and ask yourself whether it is better to organize such a Fair or to build bigger cannon.

Radicals constantly say that if we would only improve the material welfare of humanity, its soul would become better. Well, we have the highest standard of living of the whole world, and it's up to us to show that this breeds happiness and self-respect and pride and joy.

Perfection doesn't exist. But when you look at the General Motors futurama and see what magnificent imagination, ingenuity, dreams went into this, and think of the vast masses with their small hypocrisies and fears, their littlenesses and stupidities, their jealousies and cruelties, it is a miracle that man accomplishes and achieves what he does. And I stand in all humility and wonder before cost accountants and business machines.

I only hope that some prophet will arise who will take from the Fair its real theme that is there for the taking—the uniting of the United States in a positive attitude toward itself, a joy of achievement. This is not said in smugness or complacency. I will always be in the fight of the weak against the strong, on the side of justice and freedom. But if I am going to fight for democracy, I want to have something in it to be proud of. I am proud of the Fair.

HELEN GRACE CARLISLE
Stamford, Conn., May 11

The World of Mr. Whalen

Dear Sirs: In your issue of May 13 you say that you will some day do something about the World's Fair. When and if you do, you will find much that is amusing. It would bring a chuckle, for instance, to find out who issued the order that all policemen and Boy Scouts on the fair grounds must salute Mr. Whalen.

But for the sake of two or three thousand employees, may I urge that you do not seek merely the amusing side of what is virtually a concentration camp? You will do well to ask why, in view of state labor laws, women employees are ordered to work six days a week plus unpaid overtime. You will do well to ask if Mr. Whalen is willing to prove the sincerity of his World of Tomorrow by permitting unionization in his "non-profit" corporation. You will do well to investigate orders to employees "not to talk."

A CITIZEN OF THE
WORLD OF TOMORROW
New York, May 18

[We feel neither sneering nor snobbish toward the World's Fair, and the remarks to which Miss Carlisle takes such ardent exception were intended as mildly satirical humor. Bit by bit we intend to do justice to the Fair and deal with the aspects of it—good and bad—that particularly interest us. Soon we shall print a review of the art exhibits; later on we shall try to follow the suggestions in the second of the two letters above, which, incidentally, was written on World's Fair official stationery and dated from the fair grounds.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Best Sort of Catholicism

Dear Sirs: Ruth O'Keefe's article, *We Catholics Have a Duty*, in the May 27 issue of *The Nation*, is a fine, courageous statement and an expression of the best sort of Catholicism.

As a non-sectarian Christian deeply interested in the development of cooperation among the leaders of the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant churches, I have been deeply distressed by the mob-inciting toleration of Father Coughlin, as well as by the lack of papal interest in the failure of justice in Spain and Czechoslovakia. It is a great comfort to learn that there are Catholics like Ruth O'Keefe, who out of her knowledge of the history of the church to which she is so loyal can get and give to others a clear statement of the spiritual responsibilities involved.

Such a statement can do nothing but good to the cause of Catholicism as well as of religion in general. If intelligent Catholics more often came out frankly against the political partisanship of the hierarchy, timid Catholics would feel free to follow their consciences, and the rest of the world, religious and irreligious, would have greater respect for the Catholic church.

EDITH REIDER BARROW
Chicago, Ill., June 1

Child Labor Can Be Ended

Dear Sirs: I was much interested in your editorial entitled *End Child Labor Now*, in *The Nation* of April 29. There are two points, however, which I should like to bring to your attention in connection with your statement that now, in the light of recent Supreme Court decisions, Congress should pass a new child-labor law based on the principles of the 1916 law.

The child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which was passed in June, 1938, are based on the principle of the first federal child-labor law. In fact, the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which applies to all establishments producing goods for interstate commerce, is somewhat broader than that of the 1916 child-labor law, which applied to specified types of establishments producing such goods. The general effect of the Fair Labor Stand-

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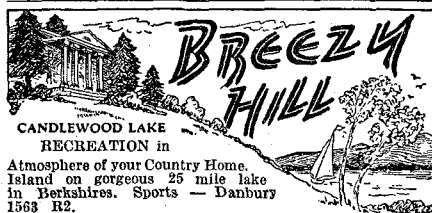
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ards Act is broader also, in that it provides for the determination of occupations hazardous to minors between sixteen and eighteen years of age. It makes provision for certificates of age for young workers, as did the 1916 law. The child-labor provisions of the act do not regulate the hours of work for minors, but the wage-and-hour provisions of the act apply to all workers alike, regardless of age or sex.

My second point is with respect to your statement that there is no longer any need for the Child Labor Amendment. Under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as well as under the 1916 and 1919 child-labor laws, the coverage extends only to establishments producing goods which are shipped in interstate commerce. Studies in recent years have shown that the great bulk of the employment of children under sixteen years of age is in *intrastate* industries, and that if protection for the child workers of this country is to be uniform, we must have regulation for children in intrastate as well as in interstate industries. The proposed Child Labor Amendment would make possible the enactment by Congress of legislation which would apply to both intrastate and interstate employment of children.

BEATRICE MC CONNELL,

Director, Industrial Division of the
Children's Bureau, U. S. De-
partment of Labor

Washington, May 25

[The 1916 child-labor law sought to use the commerce power against child labor; the 1919 child-labor law, the tax power. Both were declared unconstitutional at the time. *The Nation's* editorial pointed out that the Supreme Court

decision upholding the new AAA had removed the last obstacle to the use of either the commerce power or the tax power against child labor. In suggesting reenactment of either act we should have made it clear that we had in mind, not the specific provisions as to age and industry in the two older laws, but use of the same constitutional devices. It may be that the Child Labor Amendment is still needed since there seems no other way to reach purely intrastate businesses and service trades, but the difficulty in obtaining ratification of the amendment would seem to make it wise to experiment with a new and broader federal child-labor law. The child-labor provisions of the Fair Standards Act are fine as far as they go, but they are estimated to cover only 25 per cent of children employed in non-agricultural pursuits. Even this figure does not take into account newsboys, who have been exempted under the act.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Professor Hansen's Point

Dear Sirs: In his article in *The Nation* of May 27, Kenneth G. Crawford attributes to me mistakenly the statement that the budget should not be considered out of balance if income from taxes is sufficient to pay the carrying charges on the public debt. This, of course, I did not say.

Very briefly the point is that, with a capital-budget set-up, the operating budget is balanced if tax revenues cover all the regular expenses of the government, including relief expenditures, and, in addition, the interest and amortization charges originating in the capital or investment budget.

For a fuller statement see my testimony on the capital budget before the Temporary National Economic Committee on May 24.

ALVIN H. HANSEN

Cambridge, Mass., May 31

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